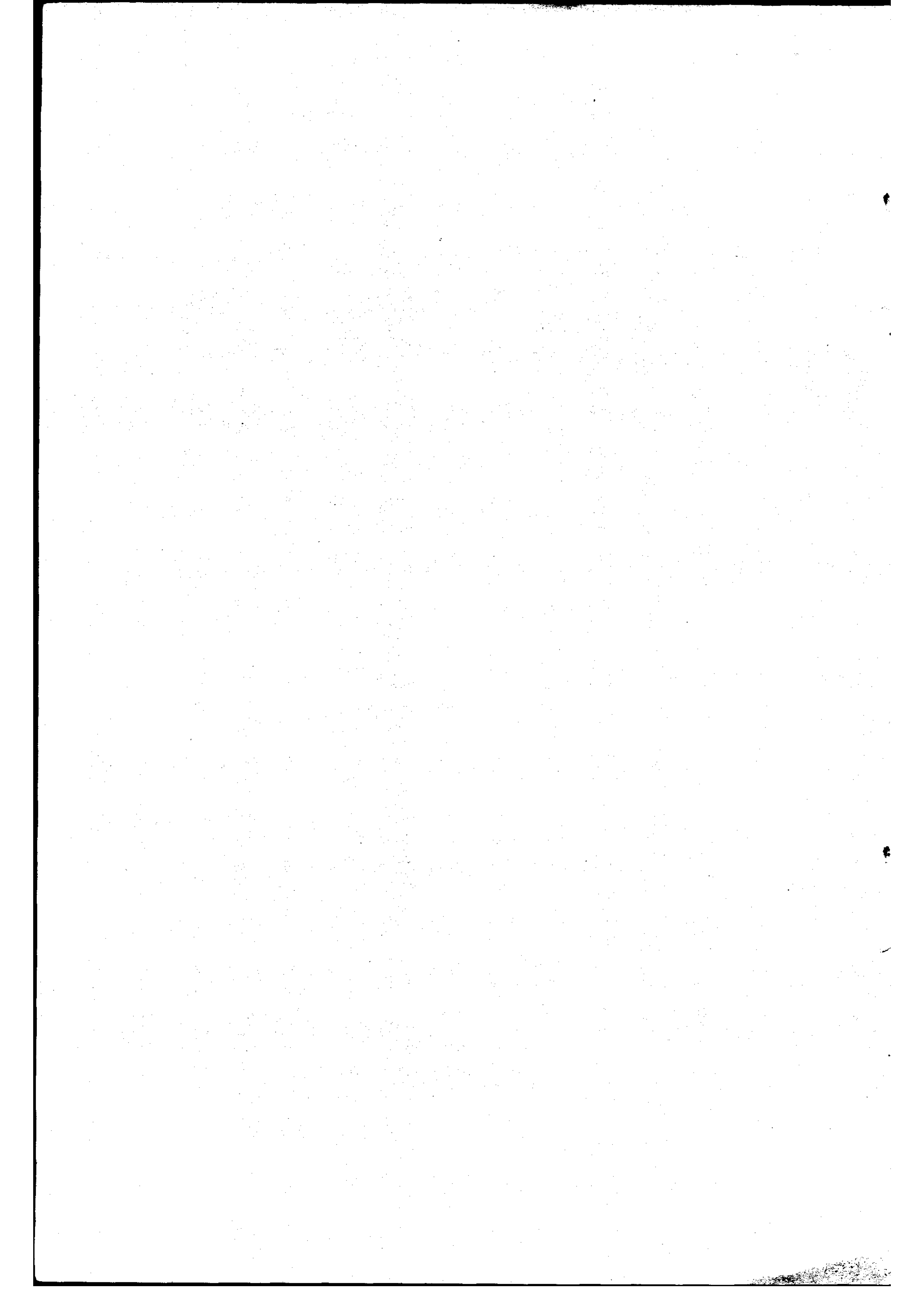
Essays in Sociology

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Published By
THE ANGLO - EGYPTIAN BOOKSHOP
165, Mohamed Farid Street, Cairo A . R . E .



Preface

This book consits of four articles presented in order to accomplish certain goals.

First, I have selected some early sociologists (Marx, Durkheim, Weber) whose works have great impact on Egyptian Sociology .

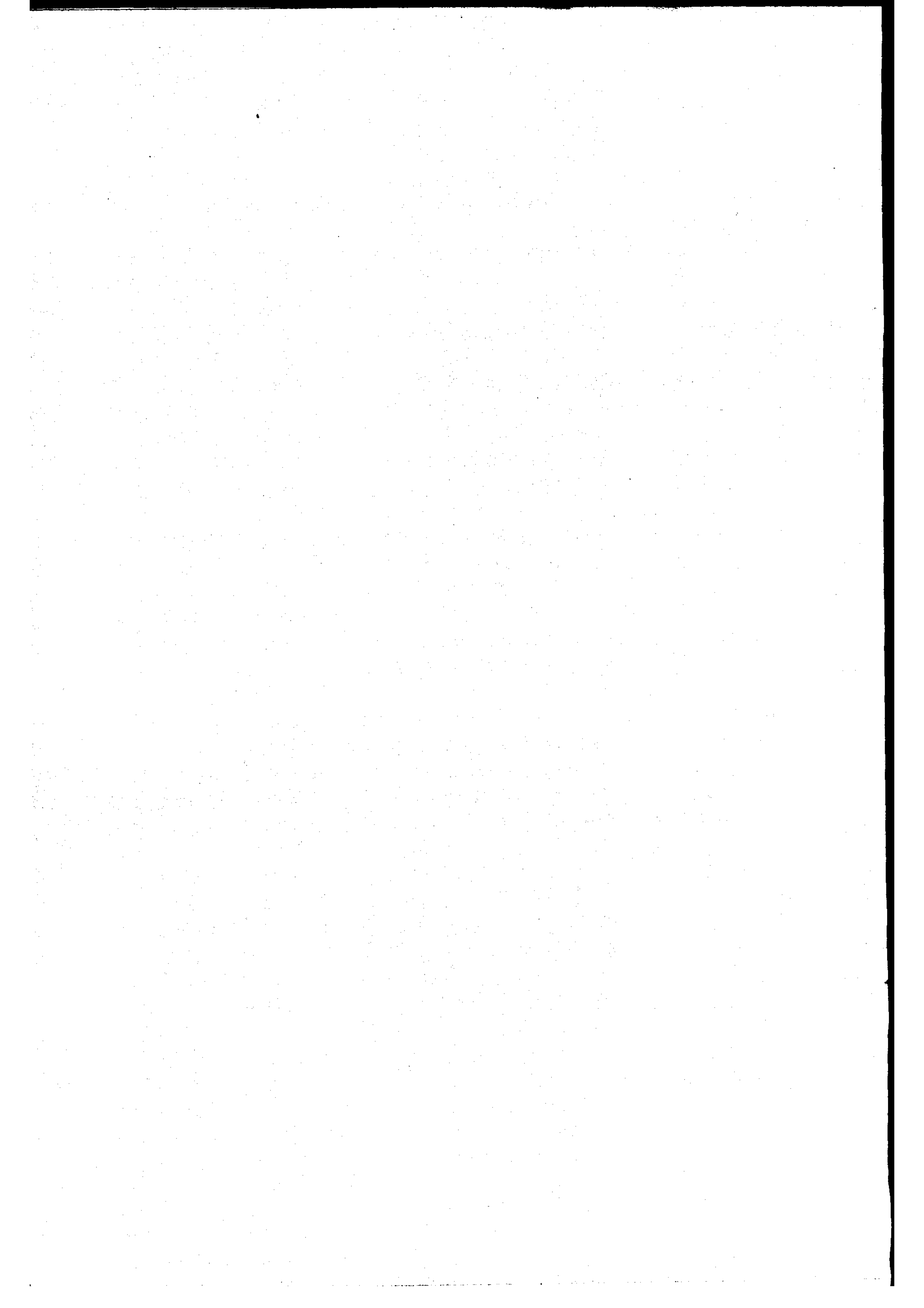
Second, I presented materials related to the sociology of career women, a cross - cultural view (Egypt and the United States) .

Third, I presented an article introduced in the international conference on "Filial Piety and Future Society " in Seol , Korea, May 15 - 17, 1995.

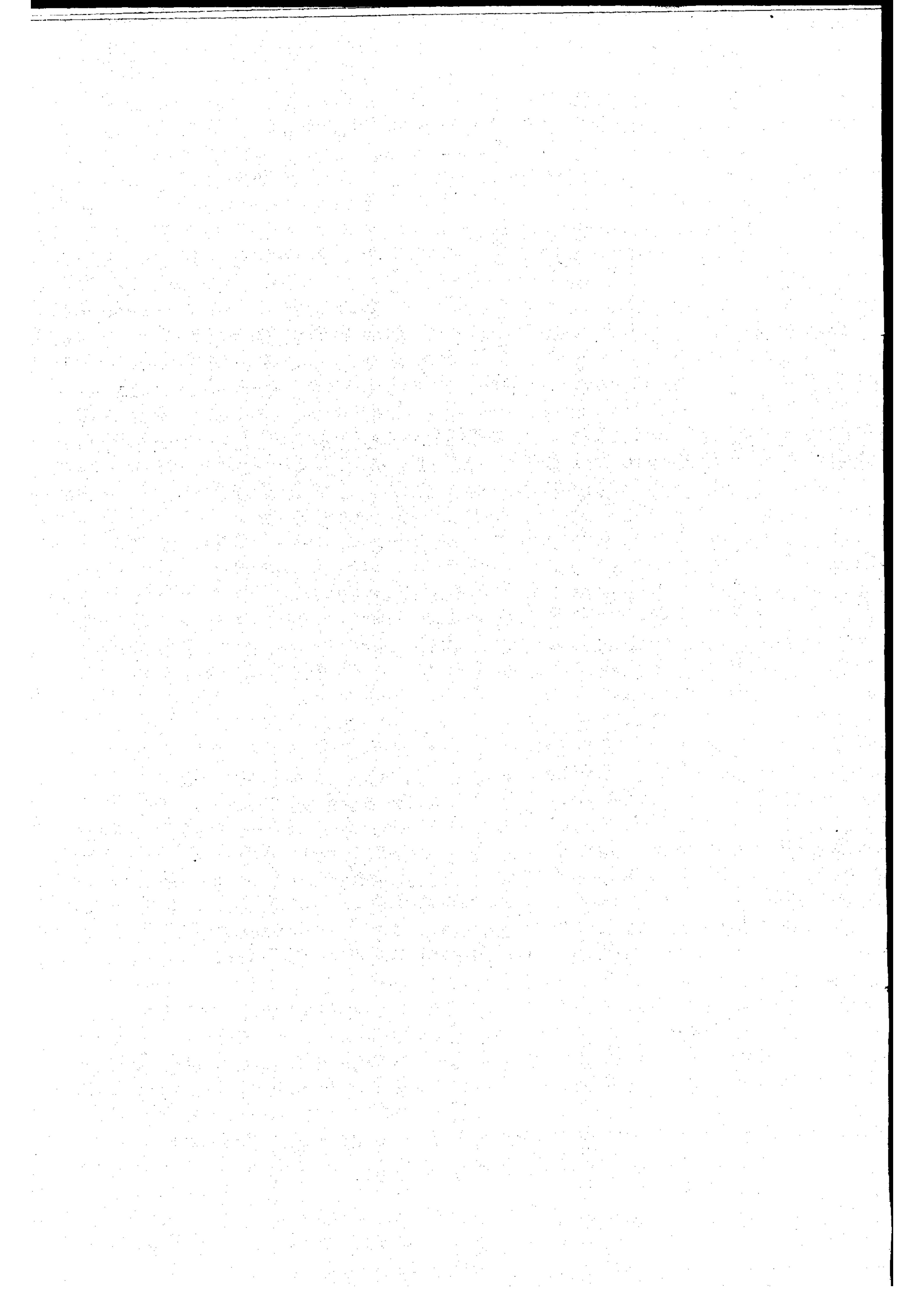
Faurth, the last article is related to industrial sociology, which is titled "Worker Alienation, Technology and Job Redesign".

For forther accomplishment, a glossary has been presented at the end of the book .

The author



Contents



MARX, DURKHEIM, WEBER:

Their Contribution On Egyptian Sociology

Introduction:

Following is a comparison between Marx, Durkheim, and Weber in terms of their sociological theory and their impact on Egyptian Sociology.

This paper involves six parts covering some of the most important works of each sociologist. In the first part, I will review the important works and ideas of each sociologist. The second part is a comparison between the three authors in terms of how they conceive sociology. The third part covers their perception of the relationship between society and the individual. In the fourth part I will analyze how they perceive social structure, while the fifth will be a comparison covering each authors idea of social change. The effect of the three sociologists on Egyptian Sociology is presented in the last part.

1. <u>**Sociologists Main Work**</u>

1. <u>**Karl Marx**</u> (1818 - 1883) was born in Trier, in the Rhineland district of Germany and was the sociologist and economist of the capitalist regime.[1] He had a certain conception of that regime, of the destiny it imposed upon men, and the evolution it would undergo.

In Brussels in 1845, Marx wrote among other things, the Communist Manifesto; a collaborative work with Engels in which they presented their aims for the League of Communists.[2]

Among Marx's publications during his early years in London were The Class Struggles in France (1850), The Eighteen Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (1852), and Contributions to a Critique of Political Economy (1859). His major work Capital (Das kapital) is in three volumes.[3]

2. **Emile Durkheim** (1858-1917) is ranked second to August Comte in importance and influence in French sociology. In American sociology he was, and still is , particularly important.

His books and articles appeared with startling regularity; his first book The Division of Labor in Society (1893), was an analysis of the social limitations on personal freedom which was his doctorate dissertation. The Rules of Sociological Method, his second book, was published in 1895 and introduces a new conception of the collective conscience. Durkheim also attempted to establish sociology as an independent science and define its method and scope. In 1897, Durkheim published Suicide, which was a treatment of the social factors in suicide and is based on the analysis of statistical data. His last book was The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1912), in which he uses ethnological material as source matter and presents his

theory of the origin of religion.[4] It involves in its introduction Durkheim's sociology of knowledge.

3. **Max Weber** (1864-1920) a German sociologist best known in American sociology today.

Weber's best known work, The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism (1906) is an analytical interpretation of the relationship between these two ideologies based upon the history of western Europe and America. Weber analyzed other religions (i.e, India, China, etc.) with their accompanying economic systems to show why other parts of the world did not develop a system of industrial capitalism. [5]

Weber's other major work in the field of sociological theory, Economy and Society, was left unfinished. It appeared in 1946 under a title From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology in which Weber was concerned with the establishment of the separate discipline of sociology and its methods. [6] It also contains a large part of Weber's systematic study of "bureaucracy.".

The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (the part of Economy and Society that Weber wrote) is an attempt to construct an entire system of "ideal types" imposed by the author himself such as his three types of "legitimate authority, " "bureaucracy," "social relationship," "probability," etc.

II. Sociologists' Perceptions of Sociology

Max Weber conceived sociology as a comparative science of social action. [7] In his analytical focus on individual human actors he differed from others whose sociology was conceived in social structural terms. Durkheim's central concern was with institutional arrangements that maintain the cohesion of social structures. [8] From another side, Marx's vision of society was formed by his preoccupation with the conflicts between social classes within changing social structures and productive relations. [9] While Durkheim and Marx were more concerned with the social structure, in contrast, Weber's primary focus was on the subjective meanings that human actors attach to their actions in their mutual orientation within specific social historical contexts.

In terms of the authors' perceptions toward sociology as a social science; each has his own perception which differs to some extent from the others. Marx was a historicist according to whom all social relations between men are specifically rooted in historical periods. When he asserted, for example, that all previous historical periods were marked by class struggles, he added that these struggles differed according to historical stages. By this we may understand that every society and, therefore, each period is unique. In comparison to Marx, Durkheim was a positivist, his aim was to establish sociology as an independent science and to divorce it, in particular, from philosophy. [10] (Durkheim, The Rule of Sociological Method). Therefore, he

considered it a natural science in the sense that social life is natural, and subject to study by the same scientific method as the natural sciences. he wanted to break away from metaphysics, free will, and systems of determination, so that social life could be studied objectively without preconceived notions, and the same principles of causality he applied to social phenomena as to chemical, biological, and psychological data. He believed sociology should be a specialized science like the other natural sciences. In comparison to both Marx and Durkheim, Weber rejected the positivist contention that the cognitive aims of the natural and the social sciences were basically the same and the opposing German historicist doctrine in which the domain of history is impossible to make legitimate generalizations because human actions are not subject to the regularities that govern the world of nature [11] (i.e., Marx repeatedly said that man cannot know the future in advance).

In contrast to Weber, both natural science and social science involve abstraction and neither method is privileged or inherently superior to the other. What particular issue concerns Weber is that one's knowledge of nature must always be, as it were, from the outside. "We can only observe external courses of events and record their uniformities. But in regard to human action, we can do more than write protocols of recurrent sequences of events; we can attempt to impute motives by interpreting men's action and words". [12] with this method he opposes the positivists as well. Hence, Weber's definition of

sociology is "That science which aims at the interpretative understanding (Verstehen) of social behavior in order to gain an explanation of its causes, its courses, and its effects" (13)

Again in comparison to Weber's subjectivity, the function of sociology, according to Durkheim is to study social facts. To him a social fact is a thing in itself, possessing a separate entity. "Things include all objects of knowledge that cannot be conceived by purely mental activity, those that require for their conception data from outside the mind, from observations and experiments, those which are built up from the more external and immediately accessible characteristics to the less visible and more profound" (14)

In terms of Marx, his thinking contrasted sharply with that of Weber and Durkheim. He took as his point of departure the evolution in man's material conditions, the varying ways in which men combined together in order to gain a livelihood. "Legal relations as well as form of state are to be grasped neither from themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but rather have their roots in the material conditions of life," (15)

III. Sociologists' Perceptions of the Relationship Between Society and the Individual

Marx believed that man's essence was not abstraction inherent in every individual, but rather, his nature is that generality which served to unite hum with other individuals.

Man's essence can be found in his relationships to other men; that is, man is a social being. Marx also speaks of man's "life-activity" which essentially refers to one's livelihood [16] (Capital, V.1). To him life-activity is the means by which man expresses himself, and in this expression he becomes self-fulfilled. [17]

While for Marx man's work is the key to his self-fulfillment, Durkheim's main interest in the relationship of the individual to the group was the group control over the individual. It was a one-way process to him and he focused his attention on the socialization process. How does society develope and mold the individual to fit into the group? Society is the regulator and restrainer of the individual. [18] Durkheim's conception left little room for individual initiative and freedom. In contrast to Weber and Marx who emphasized the individual social action (for the former) or man's work (for the latter), Durkheim maintained that society is first and of prime importance. Durkheim holds that men can only be held in check by external control and that controls in society are the moral rules and obligations which are imposed upon the individual and which must be internalized in the consciousness of the individuals. To him individuals have two consciences, one which is the individual conscience and represents the individuality, and a social conscience or "collective conscience" which represents the moral constraints of the society and is "society living and acting between us", [19]

In comparison to Durkheim, Weber took for granted that an individual is part of society and is influenced by, and influences, the social group of which he is a member. He did not become embroiled in the controversy over the individual versus the group, but his main interest in the individual is to try to understand his actions. In this connection he distinguished between four major types of social action. Men may engage in purposeful or goal-oriented rational action (Zweck-rational); their rational action may be value-oriented (iner trational); they may act from emotional or effective motivations; or finally they may engage in traditional action. [20].

Generally speaking, Weber's unit of analysis is the concrete acting person. To him "interpretative sociology considers the individual and his action as the basic unit, as its "atom" ..... The individual is ... the upper limit and the sole carrier of meaningful conduct... such concepts as "state," "association," "feudalism," and the like, designate certain categories of human interaction. Hence, it is the task of sociology to reduce these concepts to "understandable" action, that is without exception, to the actions of participating individual men", [21]

IV. Sociologists' Perception of Social Structure

To Marx, society is not an abstraction which confronts the individual, but the individual is a social being. In society man is bound to a network of social relations based on his relationship

to the means of production. Societies are the total of the relations to production and the relations men establish with each other while pursuing a livelihood.

It is from Hegel that Marx develops a holistic approach to society. Society is seen as structurally integrated whole; no aspect of which is capable of being understood by itself. According to him the state arises from the conflict between the classes. Marx's class theory rests on the premise that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." (22)

According to this view, ever since human society emerged from its primitive and relatively undifferentiated state it has remained fundamentally divided between classes who clash in the pursuit of class interests. In the world of capitalism, for example, the nuclear cell of the capitalist system, the factory, is the prime locus of antagonism between classes - between exploiters and exploited, between buyers and sellers of labor power - rather than of functional collaboration. Class interests and the confrontations of power that they bring in their wake are to Marx the central determinants of social and historical process.(23)

Marx's analysis continually centers on how the relationship between men are shaped by their relative positions in regard to the means of production, that is by their differential access to scarce resources and scarce power. In this connection,

Marx was concerned with the ways in which specific positions in the social structure tended to shape the social experiences of their incumbents and to predispose them to actions oriented to improve their collective fate in a particular social circumstance. For instance, "In early industrial enterprise, competition divided the personal interest of a crowd of people who are unknown to each other... but the maintenance of their wages, this common interest which they have against their employer, bring them together", [24]

To Marx, classes are aggregates of persons who perform the same function in the organization of production such as; "The owners merely of labor-power, owners of capital, and landowners whose respective sources of income are wages, profits, and ground rent". [25] Yet, for Marx, self-concious classes need for their emergence a number of conditions among which are a network of communication, the concentration of masses of people , a common enemy, and some form of organization. Self-concious classes arise only if and when there exists a convergence of what Max Weber called "ideal" and "material" interest, that is , the combination of economic and political demands with moral and ideological quests. [26] In contrast to the utilitarians who conceive of self-interest as a regulator of a harmonious society, Marx sees individual self-interest among capitalists as destructive to the regime, While, the conditions of work and the roles of workers dispose to

solidarity and to overcoming their initial competitiveness in favor of combined action for their collective class interests.

Close to Marx's idea of class-interest, to some extent, is Durkheim's emphasis on the function of society as a regulator of human beings. Durkheim concentrated on moral problems and searched for the essence of morality, the role it plays in society, and the way it grows and develops in expressing the ideals of society. Constraint of the individual by society was his theme, and he called attention to this fact particularly because he saw that this was an attribute that could be easily identified for scientific study. (27)

Durkheim made at least noteworthy contributions to an understanding of the regulatory aspect of society: 1.) His analysis of the evolution of law in **The Division of Labor in Society; 2.**) His theory of the function of ceremony and ritual in the **Elementary Forms of the Religious Life;** and his theory of the cause of suicide in his statistical analysis and study of **Suicide.**

In his study of law in primitive and modern societies, he was careful to distinguish between customs and mores on the one hand and law on the other. In the first case, the sanctions are diffused and indirectly applied by group members *(repressive law)*. In the second case, the sanctions are applied by a regularly established procedure, by the community, or by its authorized agents *(restitutive law)*.(28)

To Durkheim, law is but one aspect of social control, ceremonies and rituals in religious life another. he analyzed religious ceremonies and rituals and found that they serve "To awaken certain ideas and sentiments, to attach the present to the past of the individual to the group". [(29)]

In Durkheim's study of suicide, he searches for social factors in the act of self-destruction in the first place, he sought his explanations of social facts in terms of other social facts, rather than in terms of biological, psychological or geographic facts. Unlike Weber who is concerned with the personal motivation of the individual, Durkheim did not think that personal motives of the individuals who committed suicide were an adequate explanation of his act. He sought his cause from the characteristics of social groups which seemed related to variations of the suicide rate among these groups. In one of his main works, Suicide, Durkheim showed that its causes were in reality social: "Suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of the social groups of which the individual forms a part. [(30)]

If we looked to both Marx and Durkheim's idea of self-destruction we may find some approach at the start only. For Durkheim, when a person is not integrated into the group so that the group controls his actions, he is subject to self-destruction. Marx following the same direction, to him, each man working in his own interest contributes to the final destruction of the capitalist regime as a whole. While Durkheim further developed

this thesis to show that suicide rates vary by groups according to the degree of integration of the group (closely integrated groups have low suicide rates, while poorly integrated groups have high suicide rates) in addition, to crystallize the importance of society as a regulator. Marx's them deals with the idea of proletarianization and pauperization that can be found in **The Communist Manifesto.** "Proletarianization means that along with the development of the capitalist regime, the intermediate strata between capitalist and proletarians will be worn thin and that an increasing number of the representatives of these intermediate strata will be absorbed by the proletariate. Pauperization is the process by which the proletarians tend to grow poorer and poorer as the forces of production are developed. if we assume that, as more is produced, the purchasing power of the working masses is increasingly limited, it is indeed probalbe that the masses will have a tendency to rebel. According to this hypothesis, the mechanism of the self-destruction of capitalism is a sociological one and operates through the behavior of social groups. (31)

Unlike Durkheim, Weber studied institutions, or as he called them, social collectivities, but he was not particularly interested in their structure. he treated them subjectively in order to understand social action. "It may on the other hand be convenient or even indispensable to treat social collectivities, such as states, associations, business corporations, foundations, as if they were individual persons. Thus, they may be treated as

the subjects of rights and duties, or as the performers of legally significant actions. but for the subjective interpretation of action in sociological work these collectivities must be treated as solely the resultant and modes of organization of the particular acts of individual persons, since these alone can be treated as agents in a course of subjectively understandable action. (32)

In fact, Weber's "ideal types" or collectivities were his argument against his belief that no scientific system is ever capable of reproducing all concrete reality, nor can any conceptual apparatus ever do full justice to the infinite diversity of particular phenomena. To him ideal types enable one to construct hypotheses linking them with the conditions that brought the phenomenon or event into prominence, or with consequences that follow from its emergence. (33) For instance, "If we wish to study the religious roots of modern capitalism, it may be advisable to construct an ideal type of Protestant, based on the distinct features of sectarians as these emerged during the Reformation. We shall then be in a position to determine empirically whether the concrete conduct of Protestants in, say, seventeenth century England did in fact approximate the type and in what specific aspects if failed to do so. This type will further allow us to distinguish between the conduct of men who adhered to Catholic or Protestant religious bodies. We can then proceed to correlations and causal imputations as to the connections between the emergence of Protestantism and that of modern capitalism". (34)

Weber's three kinds of ideal types are distinguished by their levels of abstraction, they conceived as one of the largest units of study for Max Weber. The first is "The Protestant Ethic" or "modern capitalism" which refer to phenomena that appear only in specific historical periods and in particular cultural areas. A second kind involves abstract elements of social reality as "Bureaucracy" that may be found in a variety of historical and cultural contexts. Finally, the Rational-legal type.[35]

In terms of social stratification, Weber started with the Marxian premise of workers-capitalists, but he went much further because of his special interest in the middle class, which was practically neglected by Marx. Weber, also, recognized the importance of the economic basis of stratification, but he considered the competitive conduct of the individual in the market place as the crucial factor, not the ownership of the means of production. He also saw stratification much more broaldy than in purely economic terms, for it also included a status dimension of prestige, honor, and life styles of consumption and conduct. Political power was the third important dimension to Weber's stratification system, and it paralleled class and status. [36] Thus, Weber noted that the three dimensions of social stratification; class (economic), status (social prestige), and power (political), are important and need to be considered in any complete analysis. He was particularly interested in the economic, political, and religious system of

societies past and present, and he studied the interrelationship of these. [37]

In comparison to Marx, Weber saw "Capitalism" as a system which cannot be destroyed by a revolution since some aspects of it correspond to the needs of economic rationalization, and will continue to influence the new social structures which men may establish.

Two basic concepts have to be discussed here: Marx's concept of "Alienation" and Durkheim's concept of "Anomie."

For Marx, the history of mankind had a double aspect: it was a history of increasing control of man over nature at the same time as it was a history of increasing alienation of man.

Alienation may be described as a condition in which men are dominated by forces of their own creation, which confront them as alien powers. For Marx, the process of alienation is expressed most in work and in the division of labor, but he also speaks of all major institutional spheres in capitalist society (such as religion, the state, and political economy) were marked by a condition of alienation. To him, "Economic alienation under capitalism is involved in men's daily activities and not only in their minds, as other forms of alienation might be. Religious alienation, as such, occurs only in the sphere of consciousness, in the inner life of man, but economic alienation is that of real live.... It there affects both aspects (inner and real life). [38]

Moreover, to Marx, alienation in the domain of work has a fourfold aspect: Man is alienated from the object he produces, form the process of production, from himself, and from the community of his fellows. Here Marx is concerned with the individual himself as well as within the society. He saw this economic alienation as the source of a general alienation of the individual from society, and moreover of the individual himself.

In comparison to Marx, Durkheim believed that when social regulations break down, the controlling influence of society on individual propensities is no longer effective and individuals are left to their own devices. Such a state of affairs Durkheim calls anomie, a term that refers to a condition of relative normlessness in a whole society or in some of its component groups. Again to Durkheim, anomie does not refer to a state of mine, but to a property of the social structure. It characterizes a condition in which individual desires are no longer regulated by common norms and where as a consequence, individuals are left without moral guidance in the pursuit of their goals. (39)

Marx's analysis of economic alienation, emphasized upon control over the product of one's labor and control over the work process, becomes in Weber's perspective, merely one special case of a universal trend. "The modern soldier is equally "separated" from the means of violence; the scientist from the means of inquiry; and the civil servant from the means of administration. Weber thus tries to relativize Marx's work by

placing it into a more generalized context and showing that Marx's conclusions rest upon observations drawn from a dramatized "special case," which is better seen as one case in a broad series of similar cases. The series as a whole exemplified the comprehensive underlying trends of bureaucratization. Socialist class struggles are (for Marx) merely a vehicle implementing this trend" [40] Weber's theme raises while he identifies bureaucracy with rationality, and the process of rationalization with mechanism depersonalization, and oppressive routine. Rationality, in this context is seen, according to Gerth and Mills, as adverse to personal freedom.

V. **Sociologists' Ideas of Social Change**

As mentioned previously, Marx was a materialist who believed that reality lies only in nature and physical things. Moreover, he maintained that the foundation of society is human adaptation to nature, that is, the organization of activities to provide for material needs and wants. Thus, he held that the economic factor is the fundamental determinant of the structure and development of society, and that the economic structure or social organization of production form the "Substructure" or "infrastructure" of society. [41]

To Marx, economic structure not only limits but also shapes the whole "superstructure: " political organization, law, religion, philosophy, art, literature, science and morality itself. Whatever the conflict between Hegelian idealism and Marxian

materialism, Marx took Hegel's dialect, and combining it with materialism, derived what was to be called the philosophy of "dialectical materialism." Marx believed that men make their own history. Human history is the process through which men change themselves even as they pit themselves against nature to dominate it. To Marx, "The production of life, both of one's own by labor and fresh life by procreation, appears at once as a double relationship, on the one hand as a natural, on the other as a social relationship. By social is meant that cooperation of several individuals, no matter under what conditions, in what manner or to what end. It follows from this that a determinate mode of production, or industrial stage, is always bound up with a determinate mode of cooperation, or social stage, and this mode of cooperation is itself a "productive force". [42]

Marx conceived of history as a series of stages, each stage based on a particular level of technology or "force of production" and characterized by a particular type of economic organization or (in his words) the "relations of production" suitable to the level of technology. He distinguished four stages in the history of the West until his time, primitive, Communism, "Asiatic," the ancient stage based on slave labor, the feudal stage based on serfdom, and the capitalist stage based on wage labor. Each of these came into existence through contradictions and antagonisms that had developed in the previous order. "No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new higher

relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society" [43] While Marx's contribution to social change was revealed in his dialectic approach, Durkheim's contribution appeared in his search for the cause of social evolution.

In his main and first book, **The Division of Labor in Society,** Durkheim explored the nature of societies throughout history. He agreed with Spencer that one important aspects of change from primitive to civilized socities was found in the increase of the division of labor, specialization, and interdependence. Durkheim devoted thought both to the problem of how a transformation of social solidarity occurs and how one is to determine its state or degree. he believed that as population grows in size, more complex societies develop. The division of labor was thought to be in direct ratio to the volume and density of society. Moreover, social growth in part takes place by condensation of societies. Such formations require greater division of labor. [44] In primitive societies, where division of labor is rudimentary, individuals are relatively similar and bound together by a "mechanical" solidarity characterized by blind obedience to the dictates of public opinion and tradition. The legal system is designed to punish those who violate the collective will and offend the collective sentiments of the group. Durkheim called this "repressive law." In such a society, moral and legal responsibility is collective, social status tends to be

hereditary and a relatively small part of social life is ordered by contract.

In civilized societies, where division of labor is well developed, individuals have diverse personalities and functions, and they are bound together by an "organic" solidarity rooted in their need for each other's services. The primary purpose of the legal system is to restore to the individual that which has been wrongfully taken away from him. Durkheim called this " restitutive law. (45)

While Marx's idea of social change was revolutionary to some extent, since it was based on class struggle, Durkheim's main concern in social change was a plan of social action for the society as a whole. He maintained that sociology must be useful to justify its existence. In sum, the basic processes in social evolution, according to Durkheim, are differentiation and cohesion. However, in this process, there is a growing interdependence and cooperation between individuals so that social solidarity is increased. In this connection, Durkheim's conception of individualism was a peculiar one. It was not the unlimited right of the individual to persue his desires without social restriction, but rather an obligation laid upon each member of society to individualize himself by intensive specialization so that he could make the best possible contribution to society. Under this part lies the idea of group interest rather than self-interest that may destroy the group or society. Looking again to Marx's conception of self-interest we

find some similarity between Marx and Durkheim. Both demand the sacrifice of the self-interest for the benefit of the society for Durkheim and the benefit of the workers class vs the capital class for Marx.

For the cause of social evolution, Durkheim concluded that division of labor resulted from changes in society arising out of increased social density. In this connection, while Durkheim, like Marx, correctly returned changes to technology, division of labor, specialization, and interdependence, he incorrectly defined it on the basis of "the volume and density of societies".(46)

In terms of the previous discussion we may perceive of Marx and Durkheim as evolutionists. But is it a unilinear evolution? Unlike the positivistic evolutionists, Marx conceived the process not as continuous in a single line, each stage constituting in certain respects a quantitative increase over the previous stage, but as dialectical. That is while there is continuity in the process as a whole, each stage forms a well-marked "system" distinct in principle of organization from the others, and arising in direct conflict with its predecessor in the series. While in continuous process the delimitation of stages is arbitrary, this is not the case in a dialectic process.

In Weber's analysis of the development of capitalism, he contributed to the field of social change in Western civilization. The immediate impetus of the work was the contention of

Marxism that all social systems and institutions, including religion are determined by the economic system. To the Marxist, the Protestantism is the by-product of the rise of capitalism. Weber, in his analyses of the development of modern industrial capitalism and of Protestantism and his study of their interrelationships, came to the opposite conclusion. [47] Materialism, or the emphasis on the "profit motive," represented a break with the traditional Catholic attitudes toward making a living prevalent in the Middle Ages. Then moderation in the earning of money and a "just profit" were stressed. Weber, influenced by Luther and Calvin's idea of calling, developed his idea that the Protestant ethic was one of the essential cases of modern capitalism without which this type of economic system could not have developed. To test this assumption, weber made comparative studies of the relation between specific religious attitudes toward economic activity, and the economic system in the area where these religious attitudes existed. He examined Confucianism, Islam, etc. In all his studies Weber was looking for factors in causation of social change.

VI. Theoretical Orientations of Marx, Durkheim and Weber on Egyptian Sociology:

This section attempts to discuss the major contributions of Marx, Durkheim and Weber on sociology in Egypt. The first sociological theory to emerge out of the Middle Eastern experience is that of Ibn khaldoun's Muquaddima, which has been a source of theoretical inspiration and a model for many

sociologists. Before 1940, there has been university programs in sociology and anthropology in Egypt. [48]

Referring to the influence of these great sociologists, it is necessary to review briefly the distinctive birth and growth of sociology in Egypt, in addition to the current teaching courses, research subjects and publications. Research projects which are carried out by post-graduate students in Egyptian universities, are taken into consideration.

Through a preliminary review of the subjects presented in the publications and research titles from 1940 to 1984, [49] there appears to be three arbitrarily periods of Egyptian sociology. The leading period depends upon the sociology of Durkheim and the French school of social thought; the second period becomes a synthesis of French, German, English and American schools. In this period Egyptian sociologists have been drifting towards empirical research while remaining theoretically opened to these different schools. The third period of Egyptian sociology uses a marxist paradigm with an emphasis on social conflict, social consciousness... etc. [50]

In the first period (1940-1960), the writings of the older generation include materials that are more frequently refered to as social philosophy. There is a strong Comtian cult. The French school of sociology which is identified with the name of Durkheim is dominated in Egypt and its orientation is towards social philosophy, social facts and social problems. [51]

According to Abu Zeid, the first Egyptians who have taught sociology at Cairo and Alexandria Universities received their doctoral degrees in France and studied under mauss and Faucounnet , two sociologists of the Durkheim school. The Durkheim impact is reinforced by Radcliff-Brown who introduced anthropology at Alexandria University in 1947. (52)

At the beginning, especially under the influence of Durkheim there has been a strong trend towards theoretical analysis and a more profound theoretical emphasis in teaching and research. The path forward from Durkheim, then is not to accept his overall conception of societies, but is to understand what he shows about the nature of specific interactions. In that time Egyptian sociologists view the structural functional framework as providing a unitary theoretical orientation starting with Durkheim and continuing with Radcliff-Brown, Merton, Parsons and others.

In his last work, the Elementary Form of the Religious Life, Durkheim has presented to the Egyptian Sociologists a powerful model of the ritual aspects of social behavior as the key to emotional solidarity and to our most fundamental conceptions of reality. We have argued that Durkheim has proposed both a sociology of religion and a sociology of knowledge from which researchers have gained a lot.

The second period (1960-1973), has associated with those sociologists who have rejected the colonial research tradition

and sought to study and understand their society from "within" and to search for new suitable perspectives. As a consequence they reflect both their previous training and their concern for developing theories and methods. [53] Some of these sociologists have saught foreign doctorates in sociology mainly in Western Germany and the United States of America, others have received theirs from Egyptian Universities. All were pressed to publish texts in sociology, anthropology and folklore to overcome the shortage in the Arabic sociological library. The huge efforts which are conducted by this generation are being represented by the "Series of Contemporary Sociology."

While the older generation of sociologists has emphasized on social theory and history of social thought, the younger generation is more concerned with the empirical and quantitative studies and researches. Hassan El-Saaty is considered to be a pioneer whose main purpose is to establish an Egyptian Sociological School. In this connection, we cannot neglect the great contributions of the National Centres for Social and Criminological Research, the Institution of National Planning and the Social Research Centre of the American University in Cairo.

The rise of an industrial development in Egypt has drawn the attention of the sociologists and graduate students to study complex and large scale organization in government, business and industry. Here the great impact of Weber becomes very clear. Weber's Economy and Society provides sociologists with

an illustration of a pure type of rational action. Like other sociologists, Egyptian scholars find certain aspects of Weber's work useful and applicable. Therefore, post-graduate students attempt to study bureaucracy, development of routinization and red tape, formal and informal organizations, types of authority and power structures, decision-making process and rationalization.

Following the Weberian tradition of Religious Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism, several sociologists have introduced quantitative and structural studies of religious organizations in Egypt such as the Sufi order and others.

It is important to note that the sociological study of Islam has posed a number of theoretical problems which have provided a basis for the development of sociological theory about Islam. In a recent trial to discover a social theory capable of explaining the several aspects of the Arabic reality and historical development, El-Hussainy and El-Eassy have found that Islam can be an essential element for establishing an Arabic social theory through which sociologists can understand the "specificity" of the Arabic social structure. (54)

Generally speaking, increasingly different aspects of Weber's work have provided fruitful bases for contemporary researches and analysis in industrial sociology, social conflict, stratification and sociology of occupation.

The third period (1973 up to now) is characterized by an increasing professional consciousness among Egyptian sociologists who try to relate political and technological context to economic market. All these factors must be taken into account when studying any social phenomenon. That is, this complex represents the heart of the Marxian model.

Some contemporary sociologists have favored the Marxist Sociology and have focused on the study of such topics as class-struggle, class consciousness, worker alienation and work as the basis of value judgment. However, the work of those sociologists has resulted from an attempt to reconcile the Marxist orientation of Gurvitch, Dahrendorf, Mills and Gouldner. Because of its strong anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic perspective, marxist theory is appealing to some recent sociologists who have oriented their graduate students towards studying subjects such as dependency, prolitariate, subordination, rural and urban workers, land tenure systems and status of women in society. Particularly, the socio-economic effects of modernization and variation in modes of production.

Marx's conflict theory has been fastly filtered into Egyptian sociological consciousness. Also, research on stratification and politics has become increasingly powerful. In general, Marxist sociology is welcomed by radical sociologists because they have argued that it provides a single conceptual framework and a methodology useful for studying the social and

economic problems which are related to Egypt's most pressing problems.

From the preceding account it is clear that sociology is taught in Egypt at a relatively early stage of its development and that the sociological scene is very fragmented with numerous centres, institutes and individual engaged in social research or occupied with sociology. In terms of the scholars' theoretical orientations, we find that while the marxist influence has been widespread in sociological cites, the impact of Durkheim and Weber is still remaining favorable.

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A New Image of the Career Woman In Egypt and the United States

Introduction:

The following is a tentative outline of perspective on changing economic systems and women's employment in both Egypt and the United States of America, also some aspects of the sex role differentiation in Egypt are discussed.

Finally, we discuss a dilemma that implies : if the man is willing to accept a working partner, to what degree must he accept the greater demands on the part of the woman to manage her own life ? Conversely, if the woman is turning to education and work as a form of social insurance, to what degree must she accept the traditional patterns of male's authority ? This is not an easy transition for either man or women. Further, I illustrated the kind of conflicts that emerged among dual career families in Egypt and the United States.

I. Economic System and Family Structure:

Economic factors have played an important role in human behavior and social organization since the beginning of civilization. Confucius, Maneius and the Hindo thinkers stress on the importance of economic conditions of both people and social orders, as well as a satisfactory economic situation to accomplish social order. These early philosophers believed that economic factors conditioned religious and political phenomena,

and they considered the securing of food and other economic necessities primarily a task of the government (Nye and Berardo, 1965).

Explanation of the course of human behavior and social process is common in the early writings of classical economists such as Adam Smith, John Steward Mil, Marx, and Angels who all expounded theories directly related to family and economic life.

Most past and recent studies about the change of family are often formulated with a view to understand the existence of gender differentiation and, at the same time, try to explain changes in the position of woman especially with the growth related to industrialization everywhere, such as the studies by Ogburn (1922), Nimkoff (1934).. etc. In 1960, Middleton and Nimkoff showed that in primitive societies there is a rough relationship between the type of family system and economic life. Nimkoff further examined the relationship between technological economy and the preferred family system.

The sociological, anthropological, and social - psychological theories all seem to point to changes in the requirements of the economic system as the prime moving forces for shifting sex roles or changes in the status of woman.

The American sociologist, Goode (1963), for example, points to industrialization as a main explanation for a trend toward egalitarian relations within and outside the family. The

industrialized economy and its need for a mobile, flexible, labor force is best served with a small, independent family. Goode (1963) postulates a "fit" between the conjugal family and the modern industrial system, stressing on the individuals right to move about and universal evaluation of skills. The increasing demand for skill and mobility tends to eliminate barriers of sex, and in addition, forces within the conjugal family press for equality between husband and wife.

Historically, in the United States, women have made an important, direct contribution to the economic support of the family. This contribution has always included the process of food and fiber, and the cleaning and ordering of utensils, clothing, and the dwelling. These clusters of economic activities have been the characteristic functions of the American family. However, with increasing momentum, these economic activities within the home moved outside it and this change has basically altered the role and the structure of the family.

The transfer of economic activities from the home, the elaborate mechanization of household equipment, and the separation of the residence from the place of employment and from service centers have placed pressure on the earning power of the husband.

Traditionally, the care of the home and of small children has been allocated to the mother. The inference was that either she should personally care for the home and children, or she

should personally supervise servants in these duties. The employment of woman away from the home for any considerable time was believed to be incompatible with good care of the home and children. Therefore, it was believed wrong for mothers to be employed outside. In England, also, with the invention of the machine in the mid 18th Century a greater labor force was needed. Woman saw in this a means to gain some degree of independence, and started to move toward factory work. However, because of the attitude towards woman, the Capitalists exploited them as a source of cheap labor. According to Marx (1906), the directing motive of Capitalist production is to extract the greatest possible amount of surplus value and consequently to exploit the labor force to the greatest possible extent. How ? by exploiting woman and children.

Husband's saw this as a means of increasing family income and aided the exploitation of their woman and children by urging them to work in factories. Working of woman in that time compelled to work at home. As Bebel wrote in his publisher "Woman Under Socialism" "one of the features of the factory towns of Maine is a class of men that may be termed "housekeepers". In almost every town, where much factory work is done, these men are to be found in large numbers. Whoever calls shortly before noon will find them, with aprons tied in front, washing dishes. At other hours of the day they can be seen scrubbing, making the beds, washing the children.. these men attend to the household for the simple reason that their

wives can earn more in the factory than they can, and it means a saving of money if the wife goes to work. "this phenomena happened also in Germany", because the woman work for wages that the men can no longer work for, and the employer therefore prefers woman" (Bebel 1964: 170-1).

In America, the shift form a production-oriented to a consumption-oriented economy have changed woman's position more than men's. Women's services have increasingly been extended directly to production outside the home, and employers take a novel interest in the female labor force.

A modern economy requires a mobile, partly well-trained labor force, and men are more mobile than women. The general changes in the structure and function of the family facilitate mobility for man as well as woman, and the family have probably provided increased sex-role equality between husband and wife. Physical strength has become less important for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, which should tend to eiminate sex differences in the lower echelon industry. The expansion in white-collar jobs and the stagnation in blue-collar work favor woman to a certain extent (Barglow, 1987: 945- 954; Spade, 1991: 343-360).

Nowadays, in America, Nye (1973) pointed out: The transfer of much home production to the factory released much of the time and energy of married woman resulting in their availability for employment... mothers without husbands or with

those unemployed or earning lower salaries entered the labor force in large number... well-educated younger and older woman are drawn into the labor force... much of maternal employment is part-time.. comparative analysis of families with husbands employed with those in which the wife is employed also, shows that the latter have a higher than average income.

In Egypt, Woman's role in the economic system has also passed through the same previously mentioned development, even though time has differed. But all this is meant to convey that the majority of changes occurring are among the urban. It is for this reason that I have decided to discuss problems of dual-career families in Egypt and the United States, in terms of one segment of the Egyptian society which has undergoing more dramatic change than others the urban middle class.

That certain class has been the source of change suggested by social scientists. For example, Bear (1964: 52) points out, "... it is instructive to consider the period between the World Wars in Egypt reflecting the changes of a generation. In this generation the extent of the emancipation is directly proportional to the socio-economic standing of the family".

Following is a review of the development of woman's employment in Egypt.

Before the 19th Century, the Egyptian woman was leading a positive role in the field of agricultural works, which Egypt was famous for as a basic profession apart from the

industry, besides the manual profession undertaken by her in the house to cover the family needs and not for the purpose of marketing or external work. But after the expansion of industry in Europe about the beginning of the 19th Century, the Egyptian woman started to take part with the man in non-agricultural works and especially in the weaving industry where they used to spin cotton in their houses during their spare time, in addition to sewing and embroidery. But after the industrial expansion in using machines and motive powers in Egypt, the woman's likeness for work outdoors has increased despite the non-suitability of work circumstances. Also, female employment increased in spinning and weaving factories by the beginning of the 20 th Century. The aim of employers for employing them did not differ from the aim of employers in the aforementioned Countries which is the exploitation of their productivity at low wages on one hand, and as means to force workers to work at lower wages least they suffer unemployment that may be faced as a result of the increasing competition on the part of woman and children, on the other hand (helmy, 1973).

Despite of all this, the number of female workers kept at a low rate in Egypt before 1952, as a result of education non-expansion on one part, and of the woman's likeness of keeping at home especially after marriage. But after the 23rd of July 1952 Revolution, th Egyptian woman has been granted many profits which realized for her actual contribution in the different aspects of activity, by establishing gratuitous education for all

members of society without differentiation between male and female.

The main effects or economic and social changes outlined above whether in America of Egypt, point to some forms of equality, but also too strong elements of inequality rooted in the normative values of very country in terms of sex role differentiation. An elaboration of the changes that have taken place in sex differentiation may furnish some explanation for this situation.

II- Changes in sex role differentiation in the United States and Egypt:

Sex role stereotype was the core for several studies in the United States, than in Egypt, but the Writer, will do her best to make unbiased comparison. The stress in this part on Egypt to give the reader a brief summary.

According to Linton (1945) the division of the society's members into "age - sex" categories may be the feature of greatest importance for establishing the individual's participation in the culture; in other words, that every society assigns activities, attitudes, and expectation different to men than woman.

In most Egyptian families, roles are firmly set according to criteria of age and sex. Both boys and girls are taught as soon as possible the duties they must assume as young adults, when ideally they will take over these activities and give their parents

leisure in the old age. Compulsory - but not yet universal, especially in the villages - primary school attendance occupies some children between the ages of 6 and 12. In the rural areas, boys under 13 are given the lighter tasks, such as directing the flow of water in the irrigation ditches. For boys over 13, there are the heavier tasks of carrying fertilizer and lifting water in the shadoof (bucket on a counter - balanced pole); when a boy's mustache begins to grow, he becomes a full-fledged man, taking his place as a working adult in the community. At puberty, the boy suddenly becomes a man he is now expected to have aggressive masculine traits (Ammar 1962).

The girls also follow a course of training in the tasks they must assume, from watching over smaller brothers and sisters learning how to bake. After a girl is 16, she is much more restricted in her movements than a boy of the same age. Whether in the rural or urban areas, girls learn to be passive and boys learn to be aggressive as it is the case in America to some extent. The "reversal sex-role" differentiation that Margaret Mead (1935) found in her study of three New Guina tribes is neither found in Egypt nor in America.

Parson's (1955) instrumental - expressive distinction is very clear in Egypt even among well - educated families.

Traditional Islam envisions man's and woman's role as complementary not as committing. Each has certain privileges and duties in accordance with his or her nature and share of

influence. The man possess certain privileges, such as political authority and mobility, within the larger society against which he has to perform certain duties. First of all, he bears all economic responsibility for his wife and family despite the fact that his wife may economically be independent. In the extended family system, the man often supports not only his wife, but also his mother, sisters, aunts and in-laws as well. Accordingly, the woman enjoys certain privileges indicating that her position was not subservient as popular literature sometimes conveys.

Traditionally, the Egyptian woman does not have to worry about earning a living. There is always larger family structure in which she can take refuge. The woman's chief responsibility is to provide a home for her family and to bring up her children properly. This traditional and religious sex-role differentiation is opposed by two strong trends towards improving the status of woman: The first is the long-time trend towards increasing the educational status of woman. The second is of a more recent origin: after a decade of emphasizing on female subjugation, the revolutionary government came out openly in the National Charter of 1962 and explicitly supported equality of sexes : "Woman must be regarded as equal and she must therefore shed the remaining shackles that impede her free movement, so that she may play a constructive and profoundly important part in shaping the life of the country".

Expressed in this principle is not only the emphasis on the equality of sexes, but also the desirability that woman ought to

participate in the social and political world of man, an arena from which she has been traditionally excluded.

From the above discussion, we conclude that persons developed their sex-role identities through identification or emitation of the parent of the same sex. Traditional culture, such as in Egypt, provides opportunities for sex-role learning in childhood, and in masculinity or femininity, validating the marital and economic role (Pleck, 1976; Udry, 1971; Ammar, 1954; Blumer, 1972: 34-42; Goode, 1963).

In comparison to Egypt, several studies in the United States have shown considerable change in the direction of both masculine and feminine roles which are becoming less sex-stereotyped. The new trend, especially from the woman's side, is toward neutralizing, Parson's (1955) instrumental and expressive roles into one single role for both sexes (Broverman, et al., 1972; Komarovsky, 1974; Osmond and Martin, 1975; Pareluid, 1975, Blair and Daniel 1991: 91 -113).

III-Problems of Dual Career Families:

In 1955, Parasons and Bales suggested that the adult feminine role was firmly anchored in the internal affairs of the family, while the adult male role is primarily anchored in the occupational world. Even if it should come about that average woman had some kind of job, it seems most likely that this relative balance would be upset; that either the roles would be

reversed, or through qualitative differentiation in these respects completely erased.

In terms of Parasons and Bales' fear, several studies in U.S. have not supported this fear (Goode, 1963, Nye and Hoffman, 1963).

What about dual career families : Do the studies show reversed roles? In the United States, the role of the educated married woman has the subject of countless articles (i.e. in Theodore's book "The Professional Woman", articles by Forgarth, Rapport, 1967; Rapport and Rapport, 1971; Poloman and Garland, 1970, Holmstrom, 1970). Several issues have been studied, such as:

(1) Understanding the career patterns and contingencies which occur when both a husband and a wife has highly demanding careers, (2) The threat of competitions between the professional married to each other, (3) Career and family orientations of husbands and wives in relation to marital happiness, and (4) The impact of the wife's professional role on the family.

While both researchs and ideologies in the United States have dealt exclusively with the life situation of the career woman; with the complications and rewards she faces to combine family and work. Unfortunately there are no such studies in Egypt till 1970, few studies have concerned by the impact of the wife's career on her marriage and the family. In

our study, three main types of families are found. (1) The traditional patriarchy family, characterized by typical sex-segregated roles with the husband as family protector and provider and the wife as homemaker (46%), (2) The neo-traditional family (39%) in which the status of provider remains the predominant male with wife in a helping economic position. The wife in this case, also continues to do the traditional role, with her husband eventually helping her, and (3) The egalitarian family (15%) in which couple sharing both the expressive and instrumental roles.

These couples usually younger in age, and at the beginning of their family life.

Because there is not enough information about dual career families in Egypt such as in America, the writer will make a general comparison between them in terms of family relations of employed wives. The writer took this trend assuming that there is no great difference between dual career families and families of their types of gainfully employed wives in terms of the following issues; family power structure, division of labor, marital conflict... etc. This assumption is based on findings of previews studies in America (Rapport and Rapport 1971, Poloma and Garland, 1970) which points out that it becomes quite apparent that the assumption of a career role by the wife does not mean a dramatic change in family role. The data yield no indication that either men or women desire to see an equal sharing of both masculine and feminine role tasks in the family.

1 - Power and Authority

The increase in the wife's power and authority brings the institution of the family colser to the goal of equality between husband and wife that is a widely verbalized value in American society. Blood and Wolf instructed a composite measure of spousal power comprised of the following eight items.

1) What job the husband should take, 2) What car to get, 3) Whether or not to buy life insurance, 4) Where to go on vacation, 5) What house or apartment to take, 6) Whether or not the wife should go to work or quit work, 7) What doctor to have when someone is sick, 8) how much money the family can aford to spend per week on food.

Employing these items, Blood and Wolf found one quarter of the families to be female dominated, one quarter male dominated, and on half equal.

Several studies in America (Nye & Hoffman 1963; Sandy 1981) showed that the power of wives is increasing in areas formerly controlled largely by their husbands. It is probably, but not certain, that typically husbands are exercising more power in intra-family areas formerly the domain of woman. In Egypt feminine and masculine roles are known conventionally, and actually, even among dual career families.

In her study, the Writer applied a modified scale of Blood and Wolf that associates with the Egyptian culture and conception. The scale covers the following items: child-rearing, income distribution and meal planning apartment rental, car purchasing, how much money to save and whether to put the money in a bank versus at home, social relations, and location of spending holidays and summer vacation. The Egyptian data showed that two decisions are the wife's domain, income distribution and child-rearing. Four decisions are the husband's buying a car, social relations, (i.e. with relatives, friends, neighbor, etc.,) which apartment to rent, and where to save money. Only one decision is made jointly in which both husband and wife participate equally in making a decision and that is concerning the way to use their spare time during vacation.

As a traditional country, for instance in Egypt the husband's acceptance of the persons with whom both husband and wife will have relations is very important, but that does not prevent the wife from her narrow relations with some of her old and/ or new feminine friends.

The finding contradicts with the American employed wives who tend to have great power (Blood 1963; Bahr 1972; Blood and Wolf 1960; Heer 1963). In addition, Middleton and Putney maintained that they measured minor family secessions comparable to many that couples make daily. Several findings support the following case about the American families: That the husband's whose wives do not work tend to leave minor family

decisions largely to the wife (as it is the case of working wives in Egypt). Husbands of working wives, on the other hand, almost necessarily participate to a much greater degree in home life and might, therefore, be expected to play a greater role in minor family decisions (Middleton and Putney 1960; Hoffman; Centers et al, 1971; helmy 1973; Adam 1980; Higab 1988).

Other studies showed similar results with that of Egypt. For instance, Weller (1968, 1971) showed the employment of wives increases their power with regard to raising children. In terms of having additional children, in Egypt, there must be an agreement between both the husband and wife. Nowadays, double career families cannot support a large number of children because of the economic condition, the lack of labor-saving devices, the lack of kindergarten and the increasing standard of living.

In comparison to Egypt, some studies in America showed that the wife's employment is associated with her greater influence in decisions about having additional children (Weller 1968-1971; Safilios - Rothchild 1970).

2. Division of Labor:

Division of labor refers to task division. In the family some tasks are performed solely by the wife, some solely by the husband, others are undertaken jointly, or husband and wife may alternate their labor, or the task may be performed by someone else.

In Egypt, the man is the provider of the family and the wife has to take care of the children, cooking meals, and cleaning the house. These feminine- masculine tasks bounded among dual career families because it is against the norms to modify it. There is even an acceptance of the employment of woman, but conventionally, she has to work if she wants. But the wife is still considered to have primary responsibility for the house and children.

The data in my study showed that the willingness of husbands towards assisting their wives with the housework is considered limited, even if it is only limited to the purchase of the house necessities or preparing the food (which is usually done previously by the wife) to feed himself and the children, in case the wife would have to work late. This happens rarely. It is Worthmentioned that some husbands who help with housework do not like their relatives or friends to know of this assistance; whereas, a small number were proud of it. In America, there is a general consistency in the studies on the effects of the wife's employment on the division of labor. A basic finding is that when the wife is employed, the husband's labor increases while that of the wife decreases. For instance, Blood and his associates' (Blood, 1963; Blood and Hamblin, 1958 Blood and Wolfe, 1960) data showed that husbands of working wives did more housework than husbands of housewives.

If we put the American Family on a scale with the Egyptian family, Blood's (1963) words can offer a better

explanation of the difference between the two cultures in terms of husband-wife relationship in dualcareer families: The employment of the American wives produce substantial decrease in the number of wives who carry sole responsibilities of getting the husbands breakfast, doing the evening dishes, and straightening up the living room when company is coming. The only task which working wives maintain an active interest in the economic one of "keeping track of the money and bills". Here the wife's lessened time is offset by an increased sense of involvement in the family finances.

The Egyptian wife may only coincide with the American wife in terms of their involvement in the family finances. For instance, it has been noticed that employed wives believe that the wife's income is considered as a second income, and is supposed to help in raising the living standard of the family. Among higher income families, it may be a means for the wife's personal expenses.

In terms of the husband's taking care of the children, it was found that the Egyptian husbands undertake their duties toward the oldest children in looking after them, in particular, helping with their studies, but most of them refuse to take care of the babies and of their diapers. In comparison to this finding, the studies by Hoffman (1963), Nolan (1963), and Powell (1963) found that husbands of employed wives participated more in the conventionally feminine activities such as cleaning and child-care.

3. Effect on Children:

Despite the various responsibilities, the Egyptian wife does not neglect looking after her children. Because of the general trend towards locating in one area, whether near the husband's family or the wife's family, or any relatives, the problem of taking care of the young child is solvable. But for those who do not have these facilities they must put the child in a day care center or leave the child with a servant which is a real problem. In Egypt, boarding a servant in the house is popular to help in cleaning the house.

In terms of the effects on the child , there is some similarity between the American and the Egyptian dual career families. First, maternal employment affects the child, particularly the daughter who usually helps in the house.

Second, data showed that the working mother who obtains satisfaction from employment, does not have excessive guilt, and has an adequate household arrangement.

Third, in both Egypt and America, working mothers seem to stress on independence training of their young children, and give the child more household responsibilities. These patterns have been linked to independence, achievement and responsibility in children.

Fourth, a working mother provides less adepervision. The lack of supervision may be linked to delinquency, accidents, feelings of neglect, frustration, etc.

Fifth, in terms of a child's school performance, the data showed significant differences in terms of the socio-economics status. Children of lower income working mothers are likely to perform well in school than the child of better income families.

In addition to the previous finding, the Egyptian families faces special problems related to the lack of many facilities that any capitalist or well-developed country may provide to her members. So, most of the problems concerning children are when they are young. There is an intensive lack of kindergarten in Egypt, and if the employed mother wishes to send her child to kindergarten, she might not find one nearby, or the near one might have bad supervision or be highly expensive. Another solution is to keep him under the care of a non-available ignorant servant.

4. Husband- Wife Relationship:

Our concern, in this part, is with the threat to the husband as an adequate husband, and the threat to his position as the main focus of authority in the family. As a result of presumed problems, it was thought that the stability of the family might be threatened and lead to marital conflict or dissatisfaction.

a) In terms of recreation areas, the Egyptian finding showed a trend towards the husband and wife spending their

spare time together, in constituting friendly relations with the husband's or wife's colleagues. Going to a country Club is the main entertainment for the family on weekends, in additions to exchanging visits with relatives. For those who have television, husband and wife usually share in watching it. This result is comparable to that of the American one. Among American families intrafamily recreation are not to be reduced , whether this involves games in the home, picnics, vacation trips, or visits to relatives nor are there appreciable differences in Commercial recreation outside the home, such as movies, dancing water sports, and other active sports (Nye and Hoffman, 1963; Blood and Wolfe, 1960).

According to Nye and Berardo (1973): "one is tempted to conclude that motors as a whole have not regarded non-gamilial recreation very seriously and have placed a highly prior on recreation that involves family interaction.

b) Threat to the husband's ego. According to Nye and Berardo (1973) this is frequently expressed in that the husband will feel inadequate and hostile if his wife takes over part of the task of supporting the family. Such a question is difficult to research, however, some studies of attitude in American found fewer than the expected number of husbands opposed to the employment of their wives. For instance, in the Washington study, only 11% of the husbands of employed mothers reported disapproval of their employment. this finding contradicts with that in Egypt. In an attitude study handled by the writer among

dual career families, the researcher asked the husband, "If you have enough economic facilities, will you let your wife work? 60% were willing to have their wives stay at home. In terms of the idea that the husbands see the earnings of their wives as a threat to them, the Egyptian findings supported that, while in America they did not. In Egypt, it turns to the traditional culture that value the man as dominant and provider. In America, this threat is not clear which may be because most employed wives work in occupations inferior in status to those of their husbands and earn less salary.

c) Conflict and marital satisfaction - while there is no underhanded evidence that there is a relation between employment and divorce in Egypt, in America frequent assertions were made that the employment of wives was a major cause for the high divorce rate.

Several studies (Nye and Hoffman, 1963; Gianopulos and Mitchell, 1957; Blood and Wolfe, 1960) proved that most marital conflicts represented by arguing, quarreling, living apart, and considerations of divorce was among the employed mothers but not necessarily more divorces or permanent separations. Despite more conflicts, no more employed mothers than housewives, in America, are dissatisfied with their marriage.

Like Americans dual career families, studies in Egypt showed frequent conflict between the husband and wife because he did not adapt himself yet to change his role and perform some

expressive or feminine role. Therefore, husbands usually dispute with their wives in case of their late return to the house or when it necessitates that one of them has to stay with the baby or sick child at home. Moreover, the fear of man is that the work of his wife and her economic independence might limit his power inside the house, makes him agitates and disputes with her.

From the other side, some employed wives dispute with their husbands when they refuse to help them with housework, or care for the babies. Despite these aspects of marital conflict, it does not affect the family stability because it does not include all the marital relationships, only a little. Most of the marital conflict is related to the presence of an expected "cultural lag" between the adaptability of the wife with the new role expected from her, while the trends of the husband do not change towards the expected role despite his marriage to a working woman. This cultural lag is decreased among other dual career families where the work of the wives increases understanding between the couples.

d) In terms of the power of bargaining, the working wife has normally not accepted among dual career families in Egypt, although it does happen sometimes, especially if the wife is a main contributor to the family income. This finding agrees with Blood and Wolfe's "Resource Theory" which proposes that the power to make decisions seems primarily from the resources which the individual can provide to meet the needs of his marriage.

In comparison to the case in Egypt, studies in America stated that a woman who earns part of the family income is less likely to be so inhibited. For instance, Heer and others have shown that mothers in the provider role do exercise more influence in family decisions. Therefore, it may be the causes of conflict are no greater, but that the freedom to disagree is increased.

In terms of marital satisfaction, the data shows that there is no difference between the American and Egyptian dual career families in regards to the following propositions: Disapproving husbands with employed wives would have lower satisfaction.

Conclusion:

This article is about social determinants of attitudes towards career women in both the United States of America and Egypt, until the last decade, as reflected from reviewing some of the earlier studies. We found that:

1. Large number of working women are wives and mothers.
2. Women are effective persons with a strong desire to use their capabilities at work and the family.
3. The findings have reported that women planned to begin careers after they finish their education.
4. Career women are facing problems concerning child raising, husband - wife role sharing and division of labor.
5. Women, who choose a modern but still unconventional way of life, are facing role conflicts.
6. Some contradictions are presented between the American and Egyptian findings due to the culture and the sex-role ideology.
7. Husband - wife "Role Sharing" is clear in the American case but more "integration" is found in the Egyptian data.
8. In Egyptian studies, very little attention had been given to the issues of career orientation and achievement aspirations among career women.

9. Recently, new pressures have developed to enhance the participation of women in the labor force such as: the trend to population on control, to increased number of divorced and widowed women who are expected to support themselves and their children , and the strength of antiestablishment ideology concerning "women going back to home" as a result of the high rates of unemployment, child abuse and juvenile delinquency.

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Filial Piety's Development in Egypt

Introduction:-

During the past 40 years, Egypt has undergone rapid socioeconomic development, which has gone hand in hand with a demographic transformation accompanied by rapid population aging. In this study we have analyzed trends and determinants of concomitant changes in norms and expectations of care for the elderly. In doing so we have made use of a secondary data.

The analysis of normative change indicates the presence of a type of cultural lag whereby changes in norms of filial care for elderly parents have lagged behind changes in underlying socioeconomic and demographic conditions. In homogeneous, highly integrated societies such as Egypt these norms tend to be widely shared. When they change with a lag, latent receptivity to change can build up in the population, with the result that normative change may proceed swiftly once it begins. This is precisely the pattern observed in the Azer survey data, which show little change in norms up to 1992 followed by a sharp, population-wide decline in the percentage who view filial support of elderly parents as a good custom or natural duty. This normative shift appears to have been precipitated by the rather sudden emergence of government concern about the problem of population aging, by concomitant policy changes aimed at containing rapidly rising social security costs, and by extensive mass media coverage of these developments.

As we prepare to enter the 21st century, the understanding of cross-cultural differences in family life is assuming increased importance. The emergence of a global economy will make it necessary for people of many nations to become increasingly interdependent within the same large community. If such a world community life is to function effectively, then the peoples and nations composing such a community must understand one other's cultures in order to make the appropriate accommodations to differing values, beliefs, and practices.

This article deals with the issue of intergenerational relationships; i.e., the relations between aging parents and their adult offspring.

Until recently filial piety in Egypt was very strong. But this has changed these days to some degree. urban growth, industrialization and mechanization of agriculture have contributed to the individualization of the nuclear family and have made generations less dependent on each other.

Intergeneration filial piety is transmitted through religion, traditions, culture, and rules of conduct. Conventionally, it is common in rural areas and populous urban regions to find households with three or four generations. Accordingly, this paper deals with three dimensions. The first concerns intergenerational filial piety from a religious and traditional view. The second concerns social changes and filial piety's development, and how the position of grandparents has been

affected. This leads to the third dimension which concerns older people after retirement; i.e., the new tasks and roles expected from them to adjust themselves to the changes around them.

The study of intergenerational relationships entails a prior understanding of some demographic aspects with special emphasis on the size and features of the elderly population in Egypt.

In terms of size, the number of elderly people is rapidly increasing. According to Azer (1992: 24), "due to an improvement in health conditions there has been a parallel improvement of life expectancy as indicated by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). "Meanwhile, the 1976 census revealed that the size of the age group 60+ totaled 2.3 million (6.2% of the population). The results of the 1986 census do not provide the size of the age category 60+. On the other hand, released figures show an increase in the size of the age category 65+ from 1.3 million in the 1976 census to 1.4 million in the 1986 census (2.9%). According to U.N. projections, the number of the elderly (60+) in Egypt will reach 4.6 million in the year 2000.

In terms of the size of three-generation households in Egypt, unfortunately there are no formal statistics. But the author can conclude from a previous empirical study (1977) that about 87% of the rural sample were three (or four) generation households, in comparison to 38% in the urban sample.

Conversely, the studies which were carried out in urban Egypt after 1980 show continuous increase in nuclear families (parents + unmarried children), stem households (with one married child only), and conjugal households (elderly + spouse).

In terms of the features of elderly persons in Egypt, their average age is 60+ years (this is the retirement age). A minority of the males are widowed, while around half the females have lost their husbands (Ashour, 1992: 52). Most elderly live at home and not in institutions. They like to keep in touch with whatever kin they have: aging brothers and sisters; nephews and nieces; but especially with children and grandchildren. The relationships between aging parents and offspring is still authoritarian rather than friendly, as expected by Western sociologists. But educated old people may like to live alone, and may choose elderly care centers rather than living with their grandchildren.

Previous Literature

Most studies of sibling relationships have focused on how those relationships and the family context of which they are a part affect the individual siblings involved (cf. Johnson, 1982: 1987). Countless studies, for example, examine the role of sibling position in birth order as an important factor in socialization, and a limited number of studies suggest the importance of sibling relationships over the life span (Cumming and Schneider, 1961; Rosenberg and Anspach, 1973; see also

Schvaneveldt and Ihinger, 1980). Less attention has been devoted to the question of the role or function of sibling relationships within and to the family. Sibling relations are presented in the literature as promoting family solidarity (Adams, 1968; Sussman and Burchinal , 1962), as interdependent (Johnson, 1982; Salamon, 1982; Weisner, 1982), and as characterized by intense loyalty (Bank and Kahn, 1982). In spite of the greater attention to the role of sibling relationships in human development as opposed to family development or organization, the universal importance of sibling ties within and to the family certainly is recognized. Following are some empirical studies concerning filial piety in different countries:

- The first is titled "Expecting Filial piety in Relation to family cohesion." (1994) This Examines filial piety (FP) in Chinese society, drawing on 1990 interview data from 240 Hong Kong Chinese.

The relationships of FP with family cohesion, health, & traditional religion are assumed to be indicative of empathy development, rational choice, & normative socialization, respectively. Results support the hypothesis that family cohesion is positively related to FP. Relations between health & Buddhist affiliation & FP are only marginally significant. Thus , FP is more likely based on empathy development than on rational choice & normative socialization.

- The second study is concerned with filial piety and intergenercrational relationships in Korean immigrant families (1991). This concluded to the following finding . As the nature of socioeconomic conditions for Korean immigrants in the US changes , their intergenerational relationships are strained. As their family-kinship system changes toward the conjugal family, it is contended that their traditional exception of filial obligation should be modified to avoid intergenerational conflict. The problems in fulfilling traditional filial obligations & the nature of the modified expectation are discussed.

- The third study is concerned with patriarchy, patrimonialism and filial piety, (1990). It is a comparative study compares between China and Western Europe : The origins of patriarchal authority in the Mediterranean civilizations & the development of the importance of personal authority in traditional positions are explored. Western patriarchal authority is contrasted with patriarchy in China, noting the larger scope & duration of China's patriarchalism. Both temporal & configural comparisons are provided. Chinese patriarchy emphasizes the ultimate supremacy of roles, while western patriarchy stresses the ultimate supremacy of persons. The importance of patriarchy, patrimonialism, & filial piety to the understanding of Imperial China .

- The fourth study is concentrating on legislating and filial piety in Australia (1986). The study is a report on Australian debate & legislation on the division of responsibility for aged people in

modern society between the state & their adult children. It is argued that the state assumed responsibility for the support of the elderly when, under pressure from prevailing demographic & economic changes, nineteenth-century public welfare, charitable, penal, & insane institutions were unable to respond. This claim is illustrated by reference to legislation passed in several of the states requiring the provision of intergenerational support for close categories of kin. The reasons for the failure of the measures legislating filial piety are discussed, & the utility of such schemes is assessed.

- The fifth study is conserned with eroding filial piety and its implications for social work practice (1982). This study is an Open-ended hypothetical-case questionnaires were administered to 82 Asian-American social work practitioners in 6 US cities with large Asian communities to assess: (1) the extent of psychological conflict among Asian-American adult children, their aging parents, & the practitioners; (2) the types of alternatives available to such families (eg, custodial or nursing-home care for ailing parents); & (3) the role of practitioners in strengthening or weakening the traditional value of filial piety. Findings indicate a gradual shift of filial responsibilities to health / social service providers with considerable conflicts perceived in affective consequences; while most practitioners recommended use of agency services; their attitudes toward filial piety as a cultural value varied greatly. Recommendations for practitioners are offered that would help strengthen the role

of the extended family while allowing for external service delivery to the aging.

- The last study is a comparison between Japan and China in terms of filial piety (1971). It is held that the ethic of filial piety imported by Japan was the same as that in China, but that the human networks through which it found concrete expression in the two societies were & are different. Even today Japan has not discarded the ethic of filial piety & she never had any anti-filial piety movement comparable to that of China. On the contrary, this ethic is at the core of the human foundation of Japanese industrialization & modernization. The following generalized features are seen to distinguish the Japaness system from its Chinese counterpart: (1) unigeniture-- one- son inheritance; (2) non-consanguine adoption; (3) lineal emphasis in naming; (4) parental retirement; & (5) dozoku (the kinship core system). The structural framework on which the pre-modern dozoku in Japan rested provided a ready-made basis for modern orgauizations such as industrial corporations, educational institutions & political parties. The ethic of filial piety is both integrative & oriented to goal attainment. But while in China it was confined solely to kinship affiliation as criteria for recruitment, in Japan it was applied to serve the larger purpose of industr empires or nat'lism. China, after a cent of suffering under Western & Japanese aggression, had no ready means to rechannel the ethic of filial piety, although recent phenomena

from communes of sending professors & students to work on farms would indicate efforts to achieve this.

I. Intergenerational Filial Piety: religious and traditional views.

In this study, the concept of filial piety refers to the wide social network between all members of the kinship system, especially the relation between children and others of the ancestral and descending generation. Traditional social services are, also, aspects of filial piety in Egypt. Filial piety represents the informal and non-institutional activities carried out by relatives and family members. From the viewpoint of offspring, family relations within the family of procreation take precedence over linkages to the family of orientation, because Islamic religion commands children to honor parents and aged kin. Egypt is characterized by a tradition of respect for elders, whether they are relatives or not. They have been considered the wise, more influential, experienced, and honored people. Western culture has ruined such concepts and made this age a period of isolation, anguish, boredom, and uselessness (Philbert, 1965: 5).

The high degree of intergenerational cohesion and solidarity is influenced by inherited values and traditions derived from deeply-rooted religious and moral principles which still dictate individual conduct and expectations within the social

network of the kin system. This stems from two main factors; (a) the religion; and (b) the family and kinship system.

In terms of religion, Islam has derived its postulate of the "unity" of humanity and its institutions from the belief in the "Oneness" of Allah (God) from whom everything originates. The religious factors depend on two resources:

1. The Holy Qur'an, which every Muslim (man, woman or child) must learn, understand, and rely upon in all his life.

2. The Islamic Sharia, which has been derived from the Prophet's teachings and behavior. It, also, includes various principles on social, emotional and financial support to kin and need people.

In the Holy Qur'an, various Surahs (paragraphs) have explicit commandments to honor parents and aged kin and to treat them kindly. Some of the Surahs regulating intergenerational filial piety are presented in what follow:

"Worship none but Allah; Treat with kindness your parents and kindred, and orphans and those in need" (Surah the Cow: 83). "Worship Allah, and Join not any partners with him; and do good to parents, kinsfolk, orphans, those in need, neighbors..." (Surah the Women: 36)."... and that ye be kind to parents, whether one or both of them attain old age in thy life, say not to them a word of contempt, nor repel them, But address them in terms of honour, and, out of kindness, Lower to them the wing of humility, and say: May Allah (Lord)! bestow on them they Mercy even as they cherished me in childhood." (Lord)! bestow on them the Mercy even as they cherished me in childhood." (Surah el Esraa: 23, 24).

The Qur'an also stresses the duty towards the mother, as follows:

"And we have enjoined on man (to be good) to his parents, in travail upon travail did his mother bear him, and in years twain was his weaning; (hear the command) "Show gratitude to they parents; To me is (the final) Goal." (Surah Lockman: 14).

On the other hand, the Islamic Sharia stipulates in detail the norms and values which regulate the field of intergenerational relationships. This includes social, emotional, and financial support among relatives and between aged parents and their offspring. In this connection, there are some Surahs regulating the financial support between generations and others, as the following:

"It is prescribed, when death approaches any of you, if he leave any goods, that he make a bequest to parents and next of kin, According to reasonable usage. This is due from the Allah-fearing." (The Cow: 180).

"They ask thee what they should spend (in charity). Say: "whatever ye spend that is good, is for parents and kindred and orphans and those in want and for wayfarers, and whatever ye do That is good, Allah Knoweth it well. " (The Cow: 215).

The religious principles and rules organize our lives and have deeply affected the Egyptian culture. Besides, these principles are enforced by the courts in case of dissension between relatives.

II. Social Changes and Filia Piety's Development in Egypt.

The theoretical proposition assumed in this paper is that there exists, in Egypt, a kin family system, highly integrated within a network of social relationships and mutual assistance between offspring and older relatives. The validity of this proposition is established by the accumulation of several empirical research studies undertaken in a variety of disciplines (sociology, anthropology, psychology and gerontology). Since the 1970s, the strong impact of religion and culture on any Egyptian, as revealed in the literature, stories, and empirical studies, is more evidence of this phenomenon.

Despite the growth of research and writing on social and psychological gerontology, there are some gaps concerning the impact of economic and social transitions on intergenerational relationships. According to Esmail (1992), "Social change, economic pressures, political developments and other national and international factors make themselves felt in various aspects of Egyptian life. Sometimes changes are forceful and rapid, especially in the economic and technical sphere, while the changes of the social culture are much more gradual and weak , because of the strong influence of religion, culture, and tradition.

The transition in Egypt's social structure and the growth of urbanization and industrialization have contributed, to some degree, to the individualization of the nuclear family and have made generations less dependent on each other, especially

among educated urban families. Also, the geographic mobility of nuclear families has weakened, to some extent, social ties and kindness, and have threatened the stable kin relations which formerly accommodated grand-relatives. In the social reality, has intergenerational filial piety been ruined despite the existence of the far-reaching impact of Islamic Religion and traditional culture?

Empirical evidence of intergenerational relationships in Egypt.

By careful examination of the previous literature, we found that several empirical studies have been undertaken on the living conditions, social psychological and health problems, and needs of the aged people in Egypt. Other research is concerned with the kinship system in rural and urban areas, the impact of industrialization on the structure and functioning of the kin networks, the significance of kin network activities for the aged members of the family, and the impact of the kin system on the working of other social systems in the society. Several studies also are concerned with the social and psychological adjustment of elderly to retirement, and their participation in development and service activities.

The data presented in these studies show that there are some negative aspects and problems, especially among poor and illiterate families, but the social kin network is very impressive, according to the following findings:

1. The family is still the main social institution which offers support and services to elderly persons. However, social change has created some demand for extra-familial services.

2. Although the nuclear family is the most general family pattern, the extended family still has its conventional impact.

3. Old parents receive more respect, obedience and conformity from offspring. They also receive more help and care in cases of sickness, housekeeping, being accompanied to places, preparing meals, etc.

4. The relationships between parents and their offspring are authoritarian and formal, but the alliance between grandparents and grandchildren is strong.

5. It is common in rural Egypt to find households with three (or four) generations. Also, relations between generations not living together are very strong.

6. In every agricultural society of Egypt there can be found some multigenerational primary group, based on kinship or a combination of kinship and residence, which represents the primary sphere of mutual dependence and common interest of its members.

7. It is common in urban Egypt to find extended families and multi-nuclear families living in the same community.

8. There is some evidence that educated elderly people now want to live near their adult children, not with them.

9. Adult offspring who are physically separated from their parents keep in touch, not only by telephone but also by periodic visits and sometimes overnight visits.

10. Mutual exchange takes many forms: services, gifts, advice, and financial assistance.

11. The exchange of aid among generations flowa in several directions, from parents to children and vice versa, and among siblings.

12. Adult children have important social relationships with aged relatives.

We conclude that filial piety between generations has not bee affected or ruined by industrialization, urbanization , and geographic mobility, and that services for old relatives, such as physical care, providing shelter, shopping, performing household tasks, sharing of leisure time, etc., are expected and practiced roles of offspring and other kin members. These acts of filial piety and kin responsibility are performed voluntarily without law or compulsion.

III. Old Parents After Retirement

According to the World Health Organization's recommendation in 1972, old age starts at the age of 65, which is the common retirement age in most countries, while in Egypt, retirement commences at the age of 60. Concomitant to the role loss at retirement is the decreased interaction between the aging

person and others in the social system he belongs to. This may be accompanied by an increased preoccupation with himself and require more involvement with kin relations and more filial piety from family members.

Sociologists have different views concerning retirement. Cumming and Henry (1961) have adopted the disengagement theory: aging is an inevitable withdrawal or disengagement which results in decreased interaction between the aging person and the rest of society; and lessened contact increases the possibility of poor psychological adjustment to old age.

Deutsher, in his discussion of the postparental period (1963), adopts another view: to him, "old age is a time of new freedoms; freedom from the economic responsibilities of children, freedom to be mobile, freedom from housework and other chores. " Roce and Peterson (1965) have used the concept of "aging group consciousness"; to them, aging group conscious persons have not become disengaged from social roles as a result of aging or retirement. Rather, for most of them aging and retirement have opened up new roles, because of the increase of leisure time and because of aging group consciousness.

In Egypt, family support to aged ancestors is a moral, religious, and cultural obligation. However, with social change and economic pressure some families are facing difficulties in family life, and caring for an elderly person is, for some, and additional burden.

It is common that the loss of work role affects the status and social life of the retired, and his income decreases also. The problem is worse for unrelated persons; that is, people not living in or with families. In some cases, elderly parents live alone or are left without care during the working day.

Only a small minority of the elderly are institutionalized in homes for the aged, mental institutions, or nursing homes. But the majority live at home.According to Ashour (1992), the advantages are obvious: physical surroundings are familiar; care is given by loved ones rather than strangers. However, these caregivers may not perform their roles perfectly due to lack of skills.

The main point is that the retired do not withdraw from social contact, but rather intensify their contacts with children and grandchildren, nephews and nieces, and other kin. Studies on working mothers show that grandparents of both sexes are taking care of grandchildren while the mother is at work.

Summary And Conclusions

In comparing sibling relationships in industrialized and nonindustrialized societies, perhaps the most basic difference is that sibling relationships in industrialized societies tend to be discretionary. While in nonindustrialized societies they are obligatory. Discretionary sibling relationships are based on the siblings' desire to behave in certain ways toward one other or remain involved in one another's lives throughout the life course, while obligatory sibling relationships are based on the constraints imposed by cultural norms that siblings should behave in certain ways toward each other. Overall, in nonindustrialized societies, sibling relationships are of fundamental importance in determining family functioning and the family's adaptation to the larger society, with sibling cooperation essential to attain marital and economic goals (Weisner, 1993). In contrast, in industrialized societies, sibling relationships are secondary to spousal and parent-child relationships and do not have a major effect on family functioning or adaptation to the larger society.

Fundamental differences exist between the two types of societies in the nature and extent of sibling caretaking. In industrialized societies, parents have primary control over child caretaking, while in nonindustrialized societies, this role is shared with older siblings. In industrialized cultures, parents are expected to assume the major responsibility for socialization of

their children, with older siblings having only an incidental informal caretaking role for periodic respite of the parent. Children are prepared to lead independent lives as adults. In nonindustrialized cultures, sibling caretaking is merged with an educative function; it is institutionalized and made part of the larger culture. Its objectives include preparing siblings to become interdependent as adults in society, thus placing great emphasis on older siblings as socializing agents to achieve long-range effects (Weisner, 1993).

The Main Findings:

1. The concept of filial piety refers to the wide social network between all members of the kinship, especially the relation between offspring and ancestors.

2. The Islamic religion has far-reaching impact on values and traditions concerning the social, emotional, and financial support towards parents and old relatives.

3. Old parents and kin receive more respect, obedience, and conformity from offspring. They also receive more help and care in cases of sickness, housekeeping, being accompanied to places, etc.

4. Social change, economic pressures, political development, and other factors have had great impact on various spheres of Egyptian life. This has created some demand for extra-familial services and support for aged relatives.

5. Industrialization, urbanization, and geographic mobility of nuclear families has threatened, to some degree, the stable kin relationships.

6. In cases of retirement, the adjustment of aged parents is affected by the process of disengagement, but this may be accompanied by more involvement with kin relations and more filial piety from offspring. The young can have a supportive physical effect upon the old. warm them , and even nurse them.

7. The findings about expectations of old-age support from children show a different pattern. Expectations of old-age support have declined steadily over time and show little evidence of lags or sudden shifts. Within categories of socioeconomic and demographic predictor variables, the adjusted percentages expecting old-age support change little over time, consisten with the hypothesis that expectations of old-age support from children adjust continuously to changes in underlying socioeconomic and demographic conditions. The large decline in the overall observed percentage expecting old-age support occurs because of compositional shifts of population into socioeconomic categories characterized by lower expectations of old-age support from children.

8. The social status of the elderly in Egypt as a developing country is generally thought to be relatively high. Unfortunately, the limited research on this topic has tended to focus almost exclusively on the effects of modernization on elderly well-

being. In general, work on this subject has posited a negative relationship between the two.

Discussion of their social situation has been sporadic over time, but has prompted growing interest as elderly populations have begun to expand in those regions. At present, slightly more than half of those aged 60 and above live in developing countries, and projections suggest that group will increase rapidly over the next decade. By the year 2000, over 60% of the elderly are expected to be from the developing world (Hoover and Siegel, 1986).

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Worker Alienation, Technology and Job Redesign

Introduction

The theory of alienation in industry contains important insights regarding the effects of the socio - technical systems on human satisfaction. It describes the situation of many employees (Selznick, 1955). While the theory is provocative, it under estimates the importance of the social and occupational structure of the society.

In the Early Writings, Marx wrote
" what constitutes the alienation of labour ?
First, that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature; and that consequently, he does not fulfil himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energy, but is physically exhausted and mentally debasd. Finally, the external character of work for the workers is shown by the fact that it is not his own work but work tor for someone else , that is, the work does not belong to himself but to another person (Bottomore, 1963 : 124 - 5).

Marx emphasized private property and division of labor as essential causes of worker alienation and his loss of control over the object of his labor. In the preindustrial time, skilled craftsman had much control over the pace of his work, but the machine system controlled the pace of work and restricted the worker's free movement which turned him into a powerless instrument (Marcson, 1970).

Similarly, under weber's concept of rationalization, a job made up of only one or a few operations involved neither real responsibility nor real understanding of the plant's entire activity . Responsibility, problem-solving and decision- making were the responsibilities of Supervisors, Technical Staff and Experts (Weber, 1947).

After Marx. Durkheim said that division of labor produces increased organic solidarity through the workers ' interdipendence, but in an extreme and abnormal form, it may lead to anomie (or in other words to worker alienation) .In his comment on this point , Friedman said " that most instances of contemporary division of labor would be abnormal if we used Durkheim's classification " about organic solidarity (1961) .

In his article, " On the Meaning of Alienation " Seeman (1959) " treats alienation from the personal standpoint of the actor- that is ... from the social - psychological point of view. Presumably, a task for subsequent experimental or analytical research is to determine (a) the social conditions that produced these five variants of alienation, or (b) their behavior consequences" . Seeman focuses chiefly upon the ideas of expectation and reward. For example, he described the worker's powerlessness as his " expectancy ... that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks ". (seeman, 1959).

Our definition of the main dimensions of alienation is quoted from Seeman's recent article"Alienation Studies" (1975) in which he revised six variations of alienation "a) powerlessness - the sense of Low control. vs mastery over events.b)meaninglessness-the sense of incomprehensibility vs understanding of personnel and social affairs. c) normlessness - high expectancies for socially unapproved means vs conventional means for the achievement of given goals. d) cultural estrangement - the individual' s rejection of commonly held values in the society vs commitment to the going group standards.e) self - estrangement- the individual's engagement in activities that are within it to different domains in which control might be exercised (e.g., politica, family or academic life) . to different kinds of experience (e.g., failure vs sucess experience rweiner el al 1971) or to the different agencies that might be experienced as blocking personal control (e . g., powerful other or bureaucratic rules vs lack of individual capacity., etc) ".

Seeman's indication of alienation in 1959 remained the focus of several studies. Following his principles, several theoretical and empirical studies tend to define "alienation" through different frameworks and within different contexts. (Blauner, 1964, Clark 1959, Deans 1961, Israil 1971, Olson 1969, Susman 1972). Each study operationalizes alienation and measures it in different ways . For instance, Browning et al (1961) suggests that alienation is a " stage of process " consisting of three stages of development, 1) The predisposing stage involves three successive phases of the actor's experience : powerlessness, meaninglessness and normlessness, phenomenologically they seem to occur in this order. 2) Cultural dissatisfaction : when the actor conceives himself to be let down by events choosing to reject the relevant cultural norms. 3) The stage of social isolation : which represents various modes of adaptation. Here the actor either adapts to the situation by means which cut him off socially or he is excommunicated by his group as the group is making an adaptation to his non - confirmity (Browning, et. al 1961, Cooper, 1983; Hodson 1996).

From the social class aspect, Tourain's analysis demonstrated that " alienation is. a) an integral aspect of social class relations.b) where the dominated actor adopts orientation and social practices determined by and in the interst of the dominating class, presenting thus c) a contradiction between behavior that corresponds to his true situation and behavior imposed by the going institutions in the service of the dominant order " (Seemean, 1975 : 93). Seeman' s comment here that "such position is illustrative of those versions of alienation that minimize either the experience of derivation (e. g., work on the assembly line) or subjective awareness of such deprivation" (Seeman, 1975 : 93 ff; Erikson, 1985) .

My comparisons so far would suggest that no clear inferences about the meaning of alienation and its relation to the work structure can be drawn. My study focuses on two assumptions : The first is to dispute Blauner's conclusion that automation reverses the historical trend toward increased alienation, and the second that the organic world - view on

which is based the recent job design particularly the socio - technical method is the key factor in limiting present and reducing future worker alienation .

I - Technology and worker alienation

By technology we mean the complex of physical objects and technical operation, both mechanical and manual, regularly employed in turning out the goods and services produced by an industry (Faullen, 1970; Poustma and Wolravens, 1989).

Modern factories vary considerably in technology, in division of labor, in economic structure and in organizational character. These differences produce sociotechnical systems in which the objective conditions and the inner life of employees are strikingly variant. In some industrial environments, the alienating tendencies ar in a high degree. In others, they are relatively undeveloped or have been countered by new technical, economic and social forces" (Blauner, 1964, Faunce, 1965, Fullan, 1970, Woodward, 1965, Susman, 1972, Shepard, 1973; Seeman and Seeman, 1988; Dimitrove, 1994).

Fullan identifies three basic types of industrial technology: Craft, mass production and continuous process production. But following Blauner's classification, I will make my analysis;

A - The craft System is characterized by a production technic which requires of the individual worker a high level of traditional skill for the manipulation of physical materials with tools (Blauner, 1964) Since the production is not standardized the worker can control his work pace, the quality and quantity of output. The workers in craft's work, usually deal with task environment and solve the problems they face. Since they are doing the whole product without subdivision, they prove their identity in their work and, consequently, suffer less alienation than non- manual workers (Blauner, 1964, Shepard, 1973, Neal & Rettig, 1963, Fullan, 1970; Watson, 1980). Shepard (1973) also, found that alienation is lower among craftsmen and monitors whose jobs are not highly specialized than among

automobile workers in highly specialized work.(*) Similarly, Fullan found that craftsmen have a high degree of autonomy regarding standards of work for carrying out their tasks. Consequently, there is neither high degree of interdependence between workers nor between them and their foreman.

B - The textile industry in which workers provide some contrast to the printer :the weaver's work is that of tending looms and he can tend from forty to sixty machines. He thus is controlled in terms of the degrees to which he can weave by the pace of work, by the supervision of his immediate superior as well as by the nature of the work itself. Blauner's study reveals that textile workers have much less control over their work and were subject to consideralble pressure. They complained that they had to work too fast and that the work was tiring for some workers (1964). This is not a generalized conclusion specifically for the textile Industry because other bases of integration exist. For example , the plant's location is usually in a small town in which traditional paternalistic relationships between workers and management tend to produce strong sense of unity.

Not only the worker's back-ground affects the degree of alienation, but also the degree of integration existing in the organization. Integration within the organization is necessary to reduce worker's alienation. i.e., Blum (1953) in his study of a meat packing plant found that integration in the organization lessened the impact of work which was expected to be highly alienated (see also, form, 1976; Helmy, 1979).

C - Mass production has at least four traits : minimum skill requirements for workers, a high degree of repetitiveness, standardization of tools and techniques, and minute subdivision of product worked on (Fullan,1970, Walker & Guest, 1952). In his study at the Vauxhall car factory.

(*) Shepard applied his study on 505 blue-collar production workers drawn from an oil refinery, representing automated production system and an automobile production system.

Goldthorpe found that workers in car factories were employed at conveyor belts and, therefore, became the prototype for worker who is estranged from himself as a result of monotony of work and the lack of challenge in it. So they had an instrumental attitude to their work as a means to achieve outside goals or to make a living (Blauner, 1964, Shepard, 1973). Blauner found that powerlessness is higher for the auto worker as the assembly line keeps moving with a constant flow of work designed to keep him busy all the time. The quantity and techniques of the work are predetermined and are not under his control. There is little freedom of movement from the line and the worker is controlled impersonally. The assembly line itself became a symbol of a mechanical world- view which characterized the traditionally designed job founded with the "Scientific Management" in 1911 and still exists. For instance, Fullan found lack of integration of auto workers in the organization due to the extreme subdivision of labor in mass production (1970) .

Usual, Conveyer-belt technology deters the social interaction between the worker and his superior. The fixed nature of the line and the extreme standardization of tasks reduces the need for interaction and exchange of information between the worker and the supervisor. This increases the worker's sense of impersonality such as his unintegrated relationships to the organization (Fullan, 1970). As a result of specialization in the assembly line, low pay and Low welfare are widespread.

D - Continuous process technology, such as technology of the modern oil and chemical industries; the product flows automatically through an extensive net work of pipes and reactor units, with a particular process or reaction being carried out (Marcson, 1970 : 17). Production and materials handling are done by automatic and remote control of processing units. Manual workers do not deal with the product directly but by controlling the reactions of the invisible oils and chemicals, by monitoring control boards, watching gauges and instruments and adjusting valves. The workers operate in a team which is responsible for a

particular process (Blauner, 1964 . Susman, 1972, Fullan, 1970, Shepard, 1973). Continuous process technology is characterized by a freedom for the worker, more cohesiveness and interaction than the assembly-line industry. In his study, Fullan (1970) found that workers in continuous process industry are " most integrated (*) and less alienated and mass production workers are less integrated and highly alienated".

Fullan' s argument is convincing and reasonable in comparison to Blauner's assumption that automation is the key factor in reducing workers' alienation (1964). We can't completely blame Blauner because, in his study, those who were most satisfied were the employees of the oil refinery, who had a high degree of security. Automated technology required from the workers more mental than physical effort. The workers who were highly trained had a large degree of freedom. The work was not pressing and had little or no monotonous rhythm . (Blauner, 1964, Shepard, 1973, Susman, 1972, Fullan, 1970) .

By examining Blauner' s assumption, Susman (1972) concluded that the consequences of increased automation on worker alienation are problematic due to the fact that automation probably had hidden effects on workers. His argument was based on the following findings:

a) That automation does not create the job conditions in continuous process industry which are thought to reduce alienation, that data-demonstrate that automation undermines the positive aspects of continuous process by reducing worker's contributions to the transformation process and by limiting job discretion and variety. b) According to Susman, Blauner "correctly generalized that continuous process technologies provide greater meaning, power and normative integration for workers, but incorrectly extrapolated from the setting that increased automation would improve jobs even more" (1972:4) c). Generally speaking , most of the empirical data indicate that automation

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(*) Integration is defined in terms of the extent to which people perceive themselves as isolated or linked together through interaction. (Fullan, 1970).

contributes to a status gradient consisting of difference in pay, training and length of time necessary to master the job which may lead to worker alienation among those who are at the low-level management.

In general, the question of "control" was one of the concerns in most of the above studies of technology and woker alienation. In the different types of work, especially craft work, textile, assembly line and automated work, feelings of alienation were found to be low for craft work, but progressively greater for textile and the assembly work. Blauner found that "of the several dimensions of alienation, the impact of technology is greatest with respect to powerlessness, since the character of the machine system largely determines the degree of control, the factory employee exerts over his sociotechnical environment and the range and limitations of his freedom in the work situation" (1964:169-70). Thus, the first three types of work mentioned above represent progressively decreasing opportunities for control. This progression is reversed for automated work which had built into itself-regulation devices, and feed back devices of either an electronic or liquid gas character (Blauner, 1964, Susman, 1972, 1976, Shepard, 1973, Hill, 1973; Seeman and Seeman, 1988), and which provide the self-regulation and control of its productions (Susman, 1972, 1976, Blauner, 1964; Rinehart, 1980; Zeffane, 1994).

We can conclude that workers in continuous process technology are highly integrated and least alienated, not because of automation, but because of the recent tendency toward job redesign which is associated with most of the modern industries. Evidence of the little importance of automation in reducing alienation is shown in Susman's study. The data shows that automatic control negatively affects contributions in the batch-production work, and the use of automatic control does not affect non-batch production jobs which "suggests that automation and non-batch process continuity reduce meaning by eliminating direct worker intervention in the work flow process" (Pahl, 1985; Craddock, 1995).

From my point of view, I assume that continuous process technology has some shortcoming which may lead to worker alientation. In his article "How to Counter Alienation in Plant", Walten (1972) discussed some problems faced by a large pet-food manufacturer in 1968. He indicated that "the existing manufacturing facility was then experiencing many of the symptoms of alienation as a result of frequent instances of employees indifference and inattention, that, because of the continuous-process technology, led to plant shut downs, product waste and costly recycling. The employees effectively worked only a modest number of hours per day, and they resisted change toward fuller utilization of manpower" (ibid.; 74).

Although automation represents a significant and advanced technology, but "an automated machine is just another machine albeit radically different in its efficiency and performance characteristics" (Jordan, 1963). The problems that were generally latent or not too critical in the older, simple man-machine systems became both manifest and critical. Susman's assumption that automation may have hidden effects (1972) is as well as other studies, support Jordan's idea. For instance, worker reaction to automation depends on the nature of the work setting before automation (Selznick, 1963). In some offices traditional clerical jobs have been displaced by the introduction of electronic data processing systems which led to job implification. The employee's control over the work was reduced and his freedom of physical movement was also decreased (*). According to Selznick, a common finding is that installation of automation replaces physical fatigue with mental tension. However the 'jumpiness' that workers in newly automated plants report may be due to difficulties in adjusting to a radically changed way of work. In the oil and chemical industries, which have been automated for many years, operators have become habituated to the job, and complains of mental tension are less common. But automatic technology never stands still, and the

(*) Unlike Selznick, Blauner, Susman and Shepard found that workers in automated industry have freedom of movement.

introduction of new techniques means that employees must become accustomed to frequent changes in operations.

The above discussion about the effect of technology on worker alienation motivate the author to mention Jordan's idea that men and machines are not comparable and that they are complementary in regard to the allocation of tasks and to machines (Jordan, 1963: 163).

I conclude primarily that we cannot substitute machine for man. But what actually happens is that automation and technological change present serious problems in the field of worker displacement (Nova Scotia...1966 : 66 - 7), so the worker's fears of loss of employment and earning may make him work under a psychological tension which may have consequences for the performance of automated work that are not manifested in non-automated work. According to Susman (1976), automation removes the worker from direct involvement in the transoformation process. His contribution to the automation process is to monitor a control panel to insure that relevant machine variables do not exceed acceptable limits. This monitoring requires being alert to relevant cues and then interventing at specific points when necessary. While the worker does not usually have a significant impact on productivity he can influence operating costs through reproduction of error and performing routine maintenance tasks that supplement the activities of a maintenance department. Superior performance thus demands commitment to the organization's goals in a manner which would be difficult to achieve simultaneously experiencing high isolation and self-estrangement (Perman, 1986; Oliver, Dimitrove, 1994).

II - Job redesign and Decreasing worker Alientation:

From the previous analysis the author suggests that automation is not the way to reduce worker alienation for the following reasons: 1) It cannot be defined by a single or a set of attributes which affect workers in particular directions (Susman, 1972). 2)The pervasiveness of alienation in industrial societies results from its relationship to characterisites inherent

in the social structure of the modern society; the rapid social change, increased structural differentiations, decreased structural integration and rationalization of social organization have produced worker alienation (Faunce, 1968, Kohn, 1975; Hodson 1991; Raddock, 1995).

Whether the workers are alienated because of social or occupational structure or both, the question is how can we reduce alienation? Are job rotation, job enlargement and job enrichment sufficient enough to reduce worker alienation? The answer is that, because of the intensity of alienation in some work places, especially on the assembly line, these types of job design are not sufficient (Susman, 1976, Blauner, 1964, Hill, 1973). Would worker alienation then be reduced by more worker participation in decision-making and by inforcing autonomous work group system through job redesign and organigational conmitment? This is the subject matter of the following discussion.

In order to make the work meaningful to the worker, it is necessary, from one side to restore a sense of 'active involvement' through job redesign by changing the way people perform their work to take advantage of new technologies and, at the same time, increase opportunities for interaction among the workers. Involvement refers according to Etzioni (1970), to an object characterized in terms of intensity and direction. The intensity of involvement ranges from high to low (e.g. the worker's increasing or decreasing his work's quantity, quality and pace). The direction is either positive or negative, the positive being involvement, such as the worker's committment in decisions concerning his work, and the negative involvement being alienation. From the other side "improved performance on redesigned jobs is theorized to result from either or both of two sources (Batstone, 1988; Kuby, 1989). One source is the increased motivation or improved attitudes toward work. Redesigned jobs are theorized to provide a greater sense of accomplishment and responsibility, reduced boredom, greater meaning in work and feeling that

the work has social values and significance. The other source of improved performance is a design that is more appropriate to the job than existed previously" (Susman, 1976: 35; raddock, 1994; Hodson, 1991; Oliver, 1990).

The following is a discussion about two ways of job redesign. The first is through workers' participation in decision-making, and the other is socio-technical job design.

A - Worker's participation in decision-making:

"Participation consists basically in creating opportunities under suitable conditions for people to influence decisions affecting them. That influence can vary from a little to a lot... (participation) in a special case of delegation in which the subordinate gains greater control, greater freedom of choice, with respect to his own responsibilities. The term participation is usually applied to the subordinate's greater influence over matters within the superior's responsibilities" (quoted by Pateman from McGregor 1960:130).

Several studies in Britain (Jaques, 1951; Brown, 1960; kelly, 1968) and Yugoslavia (Kamusic, 1970; Tunenbaum, 1968; Obradovic, 1975) have shown that a widespread demand for participation at lower management levels does exist among ordinary workers but this does not seem to be the case where higher level decisions are concerned. For instance, "in a Norwagian survey, Holter (1965) found that only 16% of blue collar and 11% of white collar workers wished they had more participation in decisions concerning the management of the whole firm" (Pateman, 1970:85). Similarly, to some extent, in Goldthorpe's (1968) study of the Vauxhall car workers, the workers were asked whether they thought that the Unions should be solely concerned with pay and conditions or whether they should try and get workers a say in management. The findings showed that 40% of the workers thought they should but the majority attitude can be illustrated, as Pateman (1960)

mentioned, by remarks like: "the average person in a place like this likes to think he could manage, but management is really for educated people".

In fact the self-governing system is one example of the ways in which management can contribute to increase participation within the organization. We have a basis for this in an experiment conducted in Sweden at Saab-Scania's branch in Sodertage, where Scania trucks are assembled in a relatively new assembly department, but in traditional manner in 1968. According to Agervold (1985), "the experiment had a number of mixed pruposes, including better utilization of each individual's capacity in the work place, reducing employee turnover and absence (these two aspects are usually associated with worker alienation),... and increasing the participation of workers in planning spurring efficiency, and improving the individual's job".

In consultation with employees, management formed a reference group that consisted of a foreman as technical director, a section head as a secretary, plus representatives of the management, the Union, and others. After the reference group choosed the experimental sites, action groups were formed, each consisting of the Secretary from the reference group, the Supervisors affected and two Representatives of the wokers. One area that the action groups were trying to change structurally is the motor assembly line that feeds into the main assembly line.

The result of this experiment was impressive, because the workers, partially, participate in its planning "Evidently the general impression was positive, and Saab-Scania had decided to build a new assembly plant on the same principles" (Agervold, 1985).

Another example of workers' participation in decision making has taken place at Rade Koncar Zagreb, in Yugoslavia. The plant was manufacturing heavy electrical equipment. It had a number of purposes including the national need for rapid industrialization and a desire to transfer management to the worker producer (Hall, 1975: 330-31). In order to realize these aims, a worker's self-management system had been applied.

All workers became members of working units, and have the right and obligation to manage their units, make decisions, establish economic policy, and to submit suggestions, criticisms, questions, etc.

By applying this technique of self management, to a small Company in 1945, Rade Koncar has taken a leading role in equipment for Power Plants, including Nuclear and Transformer Plants. Unfortunately, the workers' satisfaction with the system was not explicitly stated (ibid.).

In fact, no discussion of workers' prticipation can afford to ignore the Yugoslav system or workers' self-management. "The basic component is worker control of the enterprise. Since the 1950s, the official policy of Yugoslav government has been that the workers are to control the internal and (since 1965) the external affairs of the enterprise" (Hall, 1975: 342). This means that the workers elect a 'workers council' which is composed of Representatives elected by all of the workers in the enterprise. "The workers' council in turn elects a managing board for the organization, The Managing Board includes the Director of the Enterprise and other Top Executives. Department heads and supervisors are elected who oversee the wokers themselves. These organizations thus have a hierarchy like that in other parts of the world, but the hierarchy is elected by the workers' Representatives on the Council. Influence in the election process are the Communist Party and the Trade Unions" (Ibid).

How far the application of self-governing system decreases workers alienation is not clear; what is clear is that, according to Hall (1975), on the one hand, several researchers report that The Oligarchic Patterns found in American organziations are also present in Yugoslavian enterprises (Kamusic, 1970; Zupanov and Tannenbaum, 1968). Hierarchical patterns are strong but in altered form, with the workers' council, managing board, workers, managers, and supervisors being the hierarchy (Pusic and Supek, 1972). General oragnizational matters and technical decisions are dominated by executives and technical experts.

while workers are more concerned with social and job related issues (Supek, 1972; Obradovic, 1972; Zupanow, 1972).

An exmaple of what we discussed before is a field study representing a portion of a large-scale longitudinal research efforts dealing with actual participation in Yugoslavian Workesrs Council (Obradovic, 1975). Observational data were gathered in meetings of workers' councils, the official governing bodies in twenty companies. The topics under discussion were :
(1) marketing and allied problems, (2) interorganizational cooperation, (3) finance and control, (4) wage administration, (5) organizational structure, (6) industrial and technical engineering, (7) personnel policy,
(8) benefit programs, (9) Socio-political questions, and so on.

Obradovic's (1975) study came to the following conclusion:Participation in workers' councils is dominated by a small group of top managers and professional staff employees, who also tend to be better educated and to be members of the League of Communists. The study suggested that rank-and-file workers participate more actively when discussion shifts from the sorts of technical issue to human relation problem at the individual and group level, standard of living and social welfare issues, and hiring and placement problems. Obradovic (1975) mentioned that his results" are consistent with Rus' (1971) finding that rank-and-file workers in Yugoslavian plants perceive power as being concentrated in top management

In this connection, I will mention with reservation, a study applied in Egypt in 1970 (Kamel, 1970) in which the researcher showed how workers' representatives lacked the actual participation in management. In 1961 the 'socioalist laws' were enacted in Egypt. Two of these laws introduced two new concepts to the labor relations scence. The first called for workers' participation in management through elected representatives to serve a full members of company Boards of directors. The second requried that workers receive a 25% share in the company's net profits. The question this study possess is: How these major changes

haue worked in practice?" To test his hypotheses, Kamel's (1970) data included documentary evidence and the responses obtained from 132 interviewes who represented workers, management, labor officials, workers' representatives on the board, officials of the ASU units, and government officials. These personal interviews were conducted in three companies. The study suggested that the workers' participation in management and the profit-sharing plans have not been successful because the government failed to give adequate consideration to the background and attitudes of the parties upon whose understanding and commitment the success of these programs depend.

B- Socio-technical job design:

Several empirical studies demonstrate that it is the best method of job redesign for reducing the turnover and absenteeism which result from worker alienation (Susman, 1976; Walton, 1972; Hill, 1973; Davis and Cherns, 1975).

Socio-technical design is based on principles from two different worlds between which a fundamental schism exists. The technical world is organized around rational principles of efficiency, while the phenomenal world within which humans live their daily lives is organized around psychological principles based on cognition and emotion" (Susman, 1976: 146). The objective of sociotechnical design is to bridge the two worlds through a 'best match' between a social system organized around phenomenal-world principles and the technical system. Then the achievement of the best match makes optimal use of the resources of both systems

While in the past the primary objective of the method of job design namely "time and motion" Taylor, (1911) is finding that in the easiest and most economical way to perform a job, recently and through the sociotechnical method, man becomes the most important element in the job design. The designer of any job must be aware of the human component required by the system (Susman, 1976; Fullan, 1970; Hill,

1973). As a result, we can assume that using sociotechnical job design can mitigate the bad effects of technology which led to workers alienation. Such as, workers who are unable to control their immediate work process, to develop a sense of purpose which connects their goal to the organziation as a whole, and those who fail to become involved in the activity of work as a mode of personal self-expression (Blauner, 1964: 15).

Why sociotechnical method decreases workers alienation? Because it involves the principles for worker's control over his work process as well as his work setting. These principles are; (1) self-regulation of work content and structure within the job, (2) Self-evaluation of performance, (3) Self-adjustment to change the required by technological variability, and (4) Participation in setting of goals or objectives for job inputs (Archer, in Davis and Cherns, 1975; 254-5; Lincoln & Kallebery, 1985; Mottaz, 1988; Oliver, 1990).

After the above illustration of the method of sociotechnical design, the case of Micro-wax at Stanlow is a good example of utilizing this method in order to improve the quality of work (Burden, in ibid.). In the Spring of 1966, the technical system of the plant had been through a series of difficulties stemming from the enforced changes to a need of materials different from that which the plant was designed. The operating problems stemmed from the economic need to remove from the plant the feedstock for which it was designed. This led to a need to reappraise the best method of operating the plant while still trying to supply wax to the market. At the same time another problem related to the social system of the plant, that is, morale among the plant operators, was low. The workers had very little confidence in the equipment they controlled. The previous manager had issued instructions that no alterations were to be made in plant-operating conditions without his permission. This led to the operators' loss of commitment and to supervisors' frustration because of their inability to make changes in the method of working. In order to solve the problems, a technical and social system should be first treated in this connection. Burden, the new manager of the plant, wrote "clearly the

only way to guarantee continued supply to the market was to order some buffer stocks from the U.S. and that had to be done within two weeks even if the plant run well for the next six weeks... What also had to be done was to develop a will to win in the operators and supervisors by involving them fully in the development of the plant to recover from the serious situation that confronted everyone" (in Davis, 1975: 204).

The manager began by holding weekly meetings with his supervisors and extended them to include all the process operators. Over a period of time, as a result of the extended discussion, the operators were given greater discretion to make decisions on the unit e.g., to adjust unit operating conditions to meet the daily program. The authority of the supervisor and foremen was also widened to include control of budget expenditure in their own spheres. Aided by some technical changes, the performance of the department and the morale of the employees improved significantly (Burden, in Davis, 1975:121).

Walton's study is another example proving the necessity of sociotechnical analysis in designing a job and deals effectively with the root casues of alienation. According to Walton, in general, what employees expect from their job is different from what the organoziation is prepared to offer them. So for redesigning a job, we have to bridge the technical and social world through a 'best match' between them (Susman, 1976). We have to look for what the employees want, they want more challenge, variety and interest. Greater use of abilities might be provided by requiring an operator to be responsible for his own inspection, machine setting and adjusting (Walton, 1972, Ray Wild, 1972; Poutsma & Walravens, 1989). Once the employees' expectations are not realized, the conflict between their expectation and what the organization offers will result in workers alienation from their work. For exmaple, a pet-food manufacturer was receptive to basic innovation in a new plant, in order to treat previously faced problems of workers alienation and decreasing production. It was decided to design a plant aimed to accommodate change in the expectations of the employees and to utilize knowledge

developed by the behavioral sciences (Walton, 1972). The early development of the plant took more than two years of involved planning, education, skills training and building the nullness of the new organization into a team in order to cultivate the basis of autonomous work group in the plant. By following the method of socio-technical analysis and applying the new design, the results ttar were impressive dispite some difficulties were derived from the management and some headquarters staff who resisted the innovation. This created some uncertainty wihtin the new plant community. In general, the success proved itself and worker alienation was reduced. For instance, the new plant fixed overhead rate was 335 lower than in the old plant. Reduction in variable manufacturing cost e.g. 92% fewer quality rejects and an absenteeism 9% below the industry norm. The safety record was one of the best in the company and the turnover was below average. Operators, team leaders, and managers have become more involved in their work and consequently more satisfied (Walton, 1972). Although some of these results could be affected by using new equipment, more than one half of the results were derived from the innovative human organziation.

Conclusion:

Our study focusing on the workers level because it is usually in this level that the workers lack the actual participation and involvement in organziational decision making as we have seen previously.

Usually, a job is designed for several reasons which are: (1) to solve consequences of worker alienation which affects the productivity output of the work system and (2) social costs associated with employee inputs. From my point of view, we have to determine, why the worker is alienated and whether the causes are derived from within the organization or from external factors e.g., social, religion, race, economical, politial...etc.

By knowing the reasons, we will use a more suitable design to reduce worker alienation. As we know worker alienation differs in degree depending upon several factors, such as the worker's lower position, and

his fewer rewards or the organziational activities are less meaningful to him.

Most of the aspects of worker alienation that treated into the context of the socio-technical method led to an increase in worker involvement in organizational process concerning, rules, quality and quantity productivity. But what about the worker who is alienated by factors outside the organziation? Does sociotechnical system deals with this too? I think that socio-technical system does not completely solve the problems which face the worker from outside, and tries to meet the psycho-social consequences of the technical system of the organization. What about the worker who although he is already alienated from his society but is not apparent in his performance?

The aforementioned point describes the worker's instrumental attitude For example, the workers studied by Goldthorpe were not at all satisfied with the work itsef; they complained of the monotony; they had an instrumental attitude toward their work, for them it was a means for achieving outside goals (Blauner, 1964, Susman, 1959, Goldthorpe, 1968). Goldthorpe concluded that workers did not become alienated due to the conditions of work, but were already alienated when they sought these jobs. Hence, technology has no effect on worker alienation as mentioned by Blauner (1964), Shepard (1973) and others.

In his study of meat packing, Blum (1953) suggests that self-alienation is widespread in this kind of work. When Blum asked the workers whether they got bored on the job. The response was that boredom was not a serious problem because the time passes. Fullan returns this finding to the high integration within the organization (1970).

From the above examples, using socio-technical system for developing a new job design or redesigning an old one, we conclude that worker alienation could best be decreased by the joint optimization of the technical and social systems, not only by exclusive concentration of the technical system (Hill, 1973, Susman, 1976, Davis, 1975, Fullan, 1970). By this conclusion we disputed Blauner, Faunce, and Shepard's assumption that automation is the key factor in reducing worker alienation.

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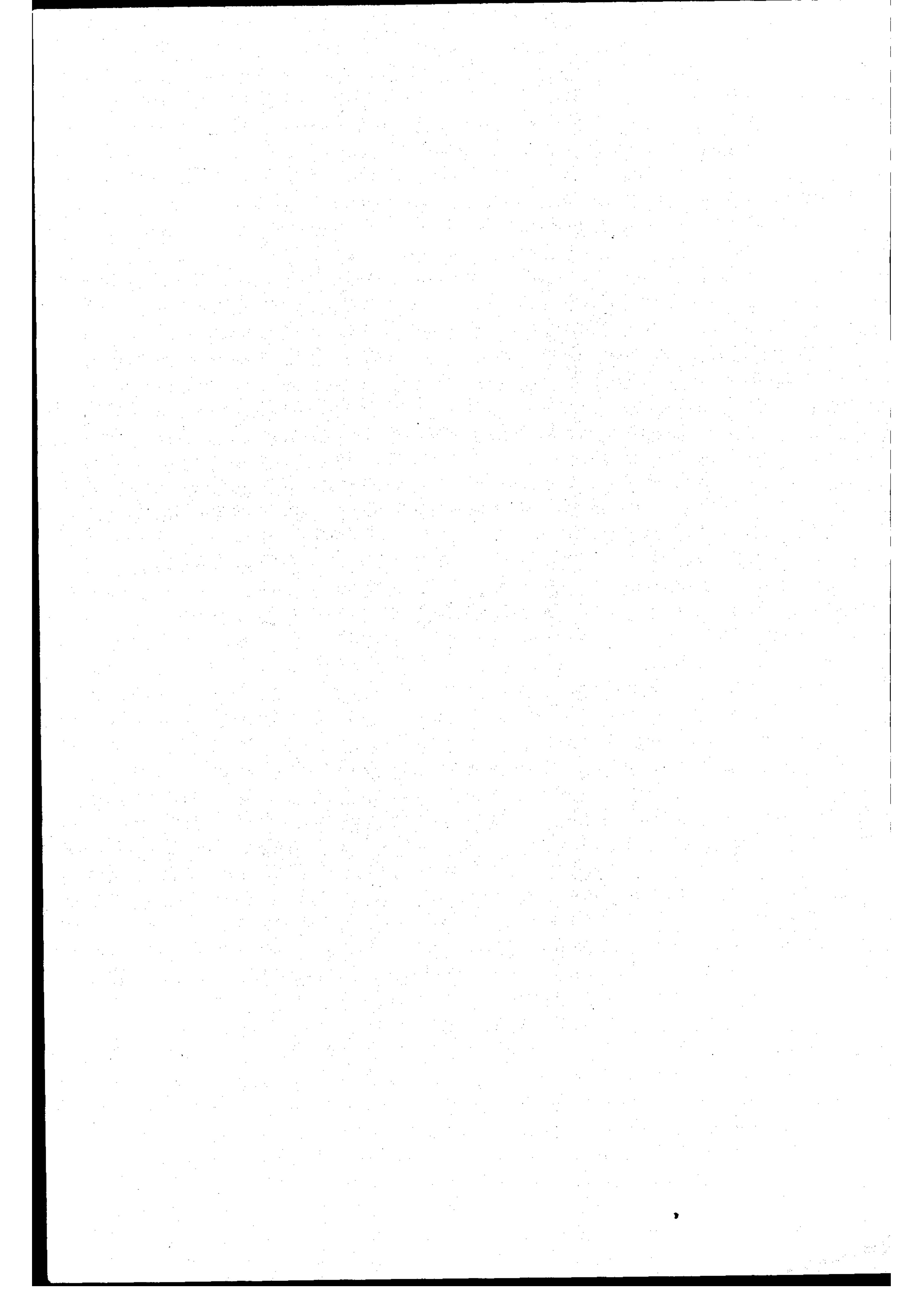
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Glossary



Glossary *

Absolute deprivation . A lack of the basic necessities of life.

Achieved status. A Status that is gained by the individual at least partly through his or her own efforts or failings .

Age structure. The proportion of different age groups within a given population.

Alienation. The sense of powerlessness and meaningless that people experience when confronted by social institution that they consider oppressive and feel they cannot control .

Anomie. A state in which social norms have ceased to be meaningful or effective, often resulting in deviant behavior .

Ascribed status. A status assigned to the individual by society on arbitrary grounds over which the individual has little or no control .

Automation . The use of self-regulating machines that monitor and control a production process .

Birth rate . The number of births per year per thousand members of a population .

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Bureaucracy. An organizational structure in which officials have specific tasks and work under a formal system of rulres to maximize the efficiency of the organization as a whole.

Case study. An intensive examination of a particular social phenomenon .

City. A permanent concentration of large numbers of people who do not produce their own food .

Conflict approach . A theoretical approach that emphasizes conflict among competing groups as an important influence on social and cutural arrangements and as a source of social change.

Culture. All the shared products of human society, comprising its total way of life .

Culture lag. The tendency for society to be disorganized because some of its parts have not adjusted to changes elsewhere in society .

Culture of poverty . A set of values, norms, and other cultural characteristics alleged to exist among the poor in industrialized societies .

Death rate .The number of deaths per year per thousand membres of a population .

Demographic transition . The tendency for the growth rate of a population to decrease and then stabilize once a certain level of economic development has been achieved .

Demography . The scientific study of the size, composition, growth rates, and distribution of human populations .

Developed country. A society that is fully industrialized, such as the United States, Japan, and the countries of Europe .

Developing country. A country that is in transition from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly modern industrial economy, such as most nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America .

Deviance. Any behavior that violates important social normes and is therefore negatively valued by large numbers of people .

Discrimination . Action against others on the grounds of their group membership and supposed group characteristics .

Division of labor. The division of economic activity into specialized tasks that are performed by specific people .

Doubling time. The time it will take for a population to double in size .

Dysfunction . A negative effect that one element in a

system has on the rest of the system or on some other part of the system .

Ecological approach. An approach to social phenomena that focuses on the relationships between human beings and their social and physical environment .

Ecology **.** The science of the mutual relationships between organisms and their environment .

Ecosystem. A self - sustainig community of organisms in its natural environment .

Ethnic Group **.** A large number of people who have had a high level of mutual interaction over a long period of time and who share distinctive cultural traits; as a result, they regard themselves and are regarded by others as a cultural unity.

Ethnocentrism **.** The tendency for members of one group to experiment assume that their own standards.

Experiment growth **.** A type of growth in which the increase in a given period is based not on the original figure but on the figure for the previous period .

Extended family **.** A family system in which several generations of the same kinchip line live together

Family **.** A group of people who live together and who are related by ancestry, marriage, or adoption .

Folkways . The ordinary customs and conventions of society; conformity to these norms is expected, but people are not morally outraged by violations of them .

Formal organization . A group that is deliberately and rationally structured in order to achieve specific goals .

Function . The effect that one elemen in a system has on the rest of the system or on some other part of the system .

Functionalism . A theoretical approach that sees society as an organized system, in which each part ideally has a useful function in maintaining social stability .

Gemeinshaft . A term used to describe a small community marked by intimate relationships, strong feelings of solidarity, and loyalty to traditional values .

Gesellschaft . A term used to describe a society marked by impersonal contacts, an emphasis on individualism rather than group loyalty, and solidarity based on utility rather than affection or shared traditions .

Growth rate . A measure of population growth obtained by subtracting the number of deaths from the number of births and expressing this figure as an annual percentage.

Hypothesis . A tentative theory that has not been confirmed by research .

Ideology . A set of ideas and beliefs that justifies the perceived interests of those who hold it; the ideology of the dominant group in any unequal society therefore justifies the inequality .

Institution . A stable pattern of norms, statuses and roles that centers on some social need .

Institutionalized discrimination . Discriminatory acts and policies that are not necessarily encoded in law but are nonetheless pervasive in the majaor institution of society .

Kinship . A network of people related by ancestry or adoption .

Labeling . The social process by which some people successfully attach the label of "deviant" to other law . formal rule that is backed by the power of the state .

Legal discrimination . Discriminatory acts and policies that are encoded in the law of the land .

Life expectancy . The number of years of life that the average newborn will enjoy .

Marriage . A socially approved sexual union of some permanence between two people .

Megalopolis . A virtually unbroken urban tract consisting of two or more adjacent metropolises .

Metropolis. An urban area including a city and its surrounding suburbs .

Migration rate . The number of people entering or leaving a population per year per thousand members of the population .

Military industrial complex. An interlocking network of politicians, pentagon bureaucrats, military chiets and executives of corporations that supply military equipment .

Mores. Morally significant social norms, violations of which are considered a serious matter .

Multinational corporation. A large business enterprise that is based in one country but owns subsidary corporations in many other countries .

Norms. Formal or informal rules .

Nuclear family. A family system in which a single married couple and their dependent children live apart from their other relatives .

Oligarchy. A situation in which power is concentrated in the hands of a few officials of an organization or group .

Prejudice. A "prejudged" negative attitude toward other groups .

Primary group . A group consisting of a small number of people who interact in direct, personal, and intimate ways,

usually over a long period of time.

Primary industry . Economic activity involving the gathering or the extracting of undeveloped natural resources .

Race. A large number of people who have interbred over a long period of time; as a result, they share distinctive physical features and regard themselves and are regarded by others as a biological unity.

Rationalization . The process by which traditional, spontaneous, methods of social organization are replaced by routine, systematic procedures .

Relative deprivation. A lack of the living standars considered customary in the society .

Role. The part that a person occupying a particular status plays in society .

Secondary group. A group consisting of a small or large number of people who have few if any emotional ties with one another, who do not know one another well, and who usually come together for a specific, practical purpose .

Secondary industry . Economic activity involving the transformation of raw materials into manufactured goods.

Social disorganization . A situation in which society is imperfectly organized for the maintenance of social stability and

the achievement of social goals .

Social mobility . Movement from one social status to another .

Social movement . A large number of people who join together to bring about or to resist some social or cultural change .

Social problem . Whatever a significant part of the population perceives as an undesirable gap between social ideals and social realities and believes can be eliminated by collective action .

Social stratification. The division of a society into social classes that enjoy varying degrees of access to the rewards the society offers .

Social structure . The underlying pattern of social relationships in a society .

Socialization . The lifelong experience through which the individual acquires personality and learns the culture of the society .

Sociology . The scientific study of human society and social behavior .

Stagflation . A combination of stagnation (low growth, low investment, high unemployment) and inflation .

Standard Consolidated Area . A term used by the Bureau of the Census to refer to a megaloplis, an urban tract consisting of two or more metropolises .

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area . A term used by the Bureau of the Census to refer to a city or cities and their surrounding suburbs that have a population of over 50,000 .

Suburb . A less densety populated, primarily residential area that lies beyond the boundary of a city .

Status . A position in society .

Stereotype . A rigid mental image of a group that is applied indiscriminately to all its members .

Structural unemployment . Persistent unemployment that is built into the structure of the economy .

Subculture . A group that participates in the overall culture of a society but also has its own distinctive life styles and values.

Survey . A method of discovering facts or opinions by questioning members of a population.

Taboo. A powerful social prohibition against behavior that is considered loathsome or unthinkable .

Tertiary industry. Economic activity involving the provision of various services .

Theory. A statement that explains a relationship between facts or concepts.

Underemployment. A situation in which people are working only for short or irregular periods or for wages so low that they cannot adequately support themselves.

Values. Socially shared ideas about what is desirable, right, and proper .

Variable. Any characteristic that can vary across time or space or from one person to another.

Zero population growth . A situation in which population size remains stable over time .

رقم الإيداع : ٩٨/٧٩٧١
الترقيم الدولى: 977-05-1618-x